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*EDITED BY*  
**Professor D. C. SIRCAR**



UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

### *Our Journal*

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*Edited By*

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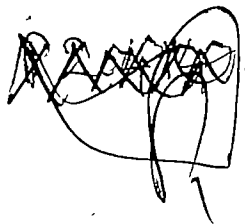


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## ARTICLES

### INDO-CHINESE RELATIONS IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY

BUDDHA PRAKASH

In the beginning of the seventh century, India had no relations with China. The *Kieou T'ang Shu* states that, when the Sui emperor Yang Ti sent P'ei Tchü to the Western Countries to cultivate diplomatic relations, all of them responded, but that India remained indifferent which the emperor regretted.<sup>1</sup> But, with the advent of the T'ang dynasty, a new age opened in Indo-Chinese relations. Just after assuming the title of 'King of Magadha' in 641, Harṣa (606-47 A. D.) sent an envoy to the court of emperor T'ai Tsung (627-49 A. D.) at Ch'angan. T'ai Tsung in return sent a letter through an envoy, Liang Huai-Ching, according to the *Hsin T'ang Shu*, enquiring after Harṣa's health. The *Kieou T'ang Shu* describes the scene of the reception of this envoy by Harṣa as follows : "She-lo-i-to (Harṣa) was much astonished and asked all the people assembled there, 'Is Mahācīnasthāna sending envoys to our country since time immemorial ?' They all replied, 'There is no precedent'. Then She-lo-i-to prostrated for a long time and received the Imperial Mandate."<sup>2</sup>

Thereupon Harṣa is said to have sent an embassy to China and, to reciprocate the gesture, T'ai Tsung sent again Li-I-piao with the title of *Wu Wei Chang* as an envoy to India. The

1 Narayan Chandra Sen, 'Accounts of India and Kashmir in the Dynastic Histories of the T'ang period,' *Visva-Bharati Annals*, Vol. XI, 1968, p. 10.

2 *Loc. cit.*

mission had Wang Hiuen-t'se as the second officer and had a guard of 22 men. According to Chavannes, he sent another envoy, Ho-tch'ou-lo-pa, accompanied by other persons *via* Kipin or Kapiśā to T'ien-tchou (India).<sup>3</sup>

The mission of Li-I-piao passed through Tibet where the monarch Srong-btsan-sgam-po (630-49 A. D.) was friendly towards the T'ang emperor having married the Chinese princess Wen Cheng in 641 A. D. Hence it was well received there. From there it reached Nepal where the king, Narendradeva, being an ally of Srong-btsan-sgam-po, naturally accorded it welcome. Thence it arrived at the court of Harṣa. To quote the *Kieou T'ang Shu*, "He (She-lo-i-to) sent his chief minister outside the city to welcome the Chinese envoy. All the people of the city and villages gave a spontaneous ovation by burning incense and standing in rows. She-lo-i-to led his ministers and, facing the east, received with reverence the credentials. He also sent an envoy with presents of red beads, curcuma longa incense and a Bodhi tree."<sup>4</sup>

The mission of Li-I-piao visited some important Buddhist sites also. At Gr̥dhra-kūṭa and Mahābodhi, its members got Chinese inscriptions engraved, the text of which is preserved in the *Fa-yuen-tchou-lin* (Ch. XXIX, p. 98 b). In the beginning of the epigraph at Gr̥dhra-kūṭa, dated February 28, 645 A. D., they sang the praises of the T'ang emperors saying that "their opportune politics have the flight of a dragon; their glory occupies throughout the length and breadth of the earth; their charity reaches the four cardinal points so far as the bar-

3 Edouard Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue Occidentaux*, p. 131. Here the view of A. Remusat that Ho-tch'ou-lo-pa stands for the king of India, whom Cunningham identifies with Durlabhavardhana of Kashmir, is rejected. See Remusat, *Nouveaux Melanges Asiatiques*, Vol. I, p. 212; A Cunningham, *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 36.

4 Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

barians."<sup>5</sup> Likewise in the inscription at the foot of the Bodhi Tree, dated the 14th March, 645 A.D., they wrote : "When the great T'angs rule, the opportune politics is lasting and flourishing ; they operate the transmutation in six directions of space ; they exercise their supernatural power over eight barbarian countries, India has prostrated her head ; religious persons and the laity come to acknowledge their sovereign. It is, therefore, that the T'angs' distinguished ambassadors were sent to contemplate at the area of wisdom (*bodhi-maṇḍala*)."<sup>6</sup>

Giving the account of this embassy, the said text states as follows : "The great T'angs obtained their captures from the six directions of space. They surpassed hundred other kings in wisdom. Wherever their shining force is applied under the vast sky, all men become submissive. Hence in the different Kingdoms of India religious persons and the laity have attached themselves to the dynasty with sincerity ; the emperor had compassion for their loyal wishes ; far away he was absorbed in the care of holy persons ; that is why, under his order, the ambassador, Li-I-piao, the vice-ambassador, Wang Hsien-t'se, and their assistants, in all twenty-two persons, travelled over the Kingdoms to cheer the people."<sup>7</sup>

The aforesaid inscriptions and accounts have an imperialist ring and a condescending tone which characterised the relations of the Chinese with the outside world and made them interpret gestures of friendship as signs of submission and symptoms of prostration. As a matter of fact, the Chinese mind could not understand relations with foreign countries except in terms of suzerainty and subservience. Hence the embassy of Harṣa was also deemed to be an indication of acknowledgement of over-

5 Sylvain Levi, *The Mission of Wang Hsien-t'se in India*, trans. S. P. Chatterjee (Calcutta, 1967), p. 26.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 31.

7 *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

lordship of the T'ang on his part as is clear from the language of the said inscriptions, particularly, the expression, 'India has prostrated her head,' occurring in the epigraph at the Bodhi Tree. Accordingly, the mission of Li-I-piao was sent by the T'ang emperor to the Indians 'out of compassion for their loyal wishes' and 'to cheer them up'.

The mission of Li-I-Piao returned to China in 645 A. D., but, soon afterwards, another mission was despatched to India, this time under Wang Hiuen-t'se with Tslang Cheu-jen as the second officer and an escort of thirty horsemen. When the mission was on its way to India, Harṣa had died and one of his vassals, O lo-na-shoen, i. e. Arjuna or Arunāśva, had usurped his throne. The Tibetan work *Deb-ther-dmar-po* (*The Red Annals*) says that "the envoy sent to India by T'ai Tsung was conquered in Magadha. Having heard the [Indian] victory, the Tibetans sent an army and Magadha was conquered."<sup>8</sup> It appears that Arjuna or Arunāśva (Tibetan *Srid-sgrub*) was opposed to Buddhism and, therefore, the countries and peoples including the Chinese who showed some leaning towards it, and, accordingly, pounced upon the Chinese mission and decimated it. Gedun Chhopel (Dge-'dun-chhos-'phal) in his *White Annals*, based on ancient records, states that Arjuna (*Srid-sgrub*) was causing great harm to Buddhism and he conquered the Chinese envoy and killed most of his associates and looted his baggage. However, Wang Hiuen-t'se, with a few of his friends, escaped in the dead of night and reached Nepal, which was under Tibet, and sought the refuge of king Srong-btsan-sgam-po. The Tibetan king sent a crack regiment of 1200 Tibetan soldiers and 7000 Nepalese cavalry to India. In about three days' battle, they (the Tibetans) captured the capital killing about 3000 Indians and throwing about 1000 into the

<sup>8</sup> Mynak R. Tulku, 'An Invasion of North India after Harṣa's Death', *Bulletin of Tibetology*, Vol. VI, No. 2 (1969), p. 9.

nearby rivers. Arjuna (Srid-sgrub) escaped and brought another army and offered another battle, but was at last defeated and captured, along with his relatives, and sent to China. The emperor was pleased and caused a statue of the Tibetan monarch to be erected in front of his tomb as a mark of remembrance of his deeds.<sup>9</sup> The *New History of the T'ang Dynasty*, Ch. 221, also says that O-lo-na-shoen fought two battles with the Tibetan-Nepalese forces, led by Wang Hiuen-t'se and Tsiang Cheu-jen, but adds that, in the first, 3000 men were killed and 10,000 drowned, whereas, in the second, 1000 men were killed and O-lo-na-shoen was captured by Cheu-jen and that Cheu-jen attacked the forces guarding the women of the royal household and barring the passage of the river K'ien-t'o-wei (possibly Gaṅgā, flowing near Kanauj) and, in the confusion, imprisoned the wives and daughters of the king along with 12,000 persons and 30,000 cattle. The success, according to this text, made the invaders the masters of 680 fortified towns. The *Ancient History of the T'ang Dynasty* mentions only one engagement in which the Indians lost 3000 men killed and 10,000 drowned and O-lo-na-shoen fled, pursued by Cheu-jen and captured by him with 12,000 persons and more than 30,000 animals, oxen and horses, and, as a result, India was conquered. These accounts are thus discrepant in many respects; but they clearly establish that the Tibetan-Nepalese forces, led by the Chinese officers, succeeded in conquering a large part of Northern India.<sup>10</sup>

The *New History of the T'ang Dynasty* (*Hsin T'ang Shu*) reports that, soon after this event, the king of Magadha (*Mo-kia-to*) started sending envoys to China to cultivate relations with the T'ang emperor. He presented the *Po-lo* (jack fruit)

<sup>9</sup> *The White Annals* (Tibetan Freedom Press, Darjeeling, 1964), pp. 75-76, trans. Tulku, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

<sup>10</sup> Buddha Prakash, 'Tibet, Kashmir and North India, 647-747', *Bulletin of Tibetology*, Vol. VI, No. 2 (1969), pp. 40-41.

tree which belonged to the category of white willows. T'ai-Tsung also sent an envoy to Magadha to learn the method of manufacturing sugar. He ordered that sugarcane be grown at Yang-tchou so that sugar may be made from its juice according to the Indian method. The colour and flavour of this sugar were considered better than that of the sugar of the Western region.

Under Srong-btsan-sgam-po and his successors, several invasions, launched into different parts of North India,<sup>11</sup> made the Chinese feel that they were suzerains or overlords of this region and accordingly send envoys there. Thus, in 657 A. D., the victor of 647-48 A. D., Wang Hsien-t'se, was again sent to North India by an imperial order to offer *kāṣāya* or yellow robe to the holy places and to bring with him the mystic, Hsien-tchao, who was reputed to be one of the most virtuous men of the time. From North India, he was ordered to return *via* Kapiśā (Kāpiśi, in Afghanistan) and to carry out some religious and political missions concerning that kingdom. Wang Hsien-t'se travelled through Nepal and reached the kingdom of Fo-li-she in 659 A. D. According to the *Fa-iouen-tchou-li* (Ch. IV, p. 35), the king of that region entertained him with a game performed by five women. "They were given three swords to enable them to pass the swords on from one to the other while playing; as the game proceeded, the number of the swords increased to ten. Then they made rope tricks. They leaped in the air above the rope, put shoes on and then took them out. They freely handled three weapons during the play—dagger, shield and spear. Then they played various tricks of all types—cutting the tongue, extracting the intestines, etc., which cannot be properly described."<sup>12</sup> In Chapter 76 of this work, the king of India, who celebrated a feast in honour of the Chinese

11 Tulku, *op. cit.*, p. 10; Sylvain Lévi, *Le Nepal*, Vol. II, pp. 147ff.

12 Sylvain Lévi, *The Mission of Wang Hsien-t'se in India*, p. 11.



mission, is called Si-kouo-t'ien-wang (emperor of the Western country).<sup>13</sup> Not only the king, but also the chief of the monastery of Mahābodhi (Bodhgayā), Śīlanāga (Kiai Loung), received the envoy with appropriate honours. "He held a grand assembly in honour of the Chinese mission. Everyone placed offerings at the feet of the envoy, flowers, eight pieces of cloth and a pot of food ; then they requested the envoy to offer pearls of dragon, etc., in the high place."<sup>14</sup> From the conversation of Śīlanāga and the Chinese envoy given in Chapter 98 of the said text, it appears that the law of the Buddha was at a discount in 'Central India';<sup>15</sup> yet the king dared not repeat the act of O-lo-na-shoen and entertained the envoy, Buddhist though he was, with proper dignity and ceremony. This shows the esteem and influence the Chinese commanded in North India in the fifties of that century.

This mission of Wang Hiuen-t'se synchronized with the destruction of the empire of the Western Tou-kiue by T'ai-tsung's successor Kac-tsung (650-83 A. D.). In 652 A. D., the Chinese, in alliance with the Uighurs, annihilated the tribe of the Tou-kiue, called Tch'ou-yue, living in the neighbourhood of Goutchen, and captured the chief of the tribe known as Tch'ou-mi, which lived on the banks of the river Manas. In 656 A. D., they fought against the chiefs of the Karluks and the Tch'ou-yue, whereas another army pushed upto Tarbagatai, where the Tch'ou-mou-koen lived, and captured their city, Yen, and a third army crossed over to the south of the T'ien-shan and attacked the Shou-ni-she in the valley of the Yulduz. Next year, in 657 A.D., the Chinese, along with the Uighurs, invaded the territory of the head of the grouping of the five Tou-kiue tribes, called Tou-lou, whose name is transcribed as Ho-lou

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<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

(651-57 A. D.), defeated him to the north of the Ili and compelled him to flee to the West beyond the Talas and seek shelter with the ruler of Tashkand, Shou-neou-shad, who, however, delivered him to the Chinese in 658 A. D. At the same time, a Chinese army won a victory over a lieutenant of Ho-lou at Shoang-ho near the Ebi-nor and another beat the chief of Kucha who had made common cause with Ho-lou. At last in 659 A. D., the Tou-kiue chief, Tchen-tchou She-hou, who still held the field, was defeated. Thus the Chinese became the masters of the whole empire of the Western Tou-kiue and annexed it. Their nominee, A-she-na Mi-shoe (657-62 A. D.), began to rule over the region of the Tou-lou and another nominee, A-she-na Pou-tchen (659-65 A. D.), became the Khan of the grouping of the Turk tribes called Nou-she-pi.<sup>16</sup>

The conquest and annexation of the empire of the Western Tou-kiue by the Chinese made them masters of the region of Transoxiana and of that between the Oxus and the Indus. They established their own administration over it, dividing it into divisions, districts, cantonments and prefectures. They organized the area between the Oxus and the Indus into sixteen administrative divisions, divided those sixteen divisions into eighty districts, one hundred and six sub-prefectures and hundred and twenty-six military units. The sixteen administrative divisions corresponded to the kingdoms already existing; but sometime they gave the names reminiscent of their possessions in earlier ages. Tukharistan was the centre of this entire area and there a stele was set up to mark the establishment of Chinese rule. Thus, when, in 661 A. D., Wang Hsien-t'se returned from North India to China *via* Kapiśā, he passed through Chinese territory. Sylvain Lévi thinks that

<sup>16</sup> Rene Grousset, *L'empire des Steppes*, p. 150; Edouard Chavannes, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-37, 63, 67, 267-68.

Wang Hiuen-ts'e visited India for the fourth time in 663 A. D.<sup>17</sup>

This was the climax of Chinese expansion in the 'Western' countries and immensely increased their status and prestige in India, which explains the nice treatment given to Wang Hiuen-ts'e, when he came on his third mission.

With the Chinese empire extending upto the Indus,<sup>18</sup> the T'angs were the next-door neighbours of the Indians and the relations between them were sure to be intimate. But two developments changed this political pattern giving new orientations to these relations. One was the split between Tibet and China and another the onset of the Arab Muslims. Upto 664 A. D., the relations between Tibet and China were cordial as heretofore as is clear from the safe and comfortable journey of the pilgrim Hiuen-tshao<sup>19</sup> from India to China through Tibetan territory; but soon afterwards they began to worsen, the bone of contention being the Tongu tribe of T'ou-yu-hoen living near the Kokonor. In 663 A. D., the Tibetans attacked that

17. *T'oung Pao*, 1911.

18. Among the 16 administrative divisions, into which the Chinese had divided the region between the Oxus and the Indus, wrested from the Western Tou-kiue, figures Sieou-sien as No. 6. It corresponded to Ki-pin or Kapiśā, which in the T'ang period also included Gandhāra, and thus extended upto the Indus. Hiuen-tsang clearly states (*Memoires*, Vol. I, p. 104) that the ruling house of Gandhāra had become extinct and it came under the domination of Kapiśā. A century later, Ou-K'ong wrote that Kapiśā had two capitals, western and eastern, the latter situated in Gandhāra. Hence it is clear that, from the time of Hiuen-tsang to that of Ou-K'ong, Gandhāra remained a part of Kapiśā. This is why we do not find it mentioned separately in T'ang records. Rather they refer to it under the rubric Ki-pin. After annexing it, along with other parts of the empire of the Western Turks in 658 A. D., the Chinese gave it the new name of Sieou-sien. Thus it is clear that the area under the control of the Chinese extended upto the Indus.

19. Edouard Chavannes, *Les religieux éminents qui allerent chercher la loi dans les contrees d'occident*, pp. 13-14, 20.

tribe and destroyed it. Their defeated king took refuge at Leang-tcheou and sought the help of the Chinese. In 670 A.D., the emperor, Kao Tsung, tried to restore him on his ancestral throne and, for that purpose, sent an army. But the Tibetans inflicted a crushing defeat on the Chinese army in the valley of the Ta-fei (Bukhain-gol), a tributary of the Kokonor, in the West. After defeating that army, the Tibetans penetrated into Kashgharia and wrested the Four Garrisons of Kucha, Kashghar, Khotan and Karashahr or Tokmak which constituted the lifeline of the Chinese empire in the West. It is likely that the Tibetans tightened their grip over the states of North India also, which partly explains why they eagerly sought the help of China from time to time.

The other troubling factor was the Arabs who, conquering the Persian empire of the Sassanids in 637 A.D., cast covetous eyes on the regions to the southwest of the Oxus. About 650 A.D., the governor of Basra sent a force to conquer Seistan ; but, despite some success, it could not make any significant headway and, soon afterwards, all its gains were lost. When Muawiyah became the Caliph in 661 A. D., a fresh vigour was imparted into the offensive against Kabul and Zabul. A force under Abdur Rahman invaded Kabul and stormed it after a few months' siege. From Kabul, it proceeded against Zabul and defeated its ruler. But soon afterwards, Abdur Rahman was recalled and, with his departure, the chiefs of Kabul and Zabul overthrew the suzerainty of the Arabs. The new governor renewed the campaign, but concluded a treaty with the rulers of Kabul and Zabul on payment of money by them. In 683 A. D., the chief of Kabul revolted and routed an Arab army at the battle of Junzah. In 685 A. D., the ruler of Zabul also rose in rebellion, but fell fighting. His son continued the struggle and lured the Arab army into a mountain defile, of which all outlets he closed. Thus he compelled the Arabs

to agree to a treaty containing an undertaking not to raid that country and rest contented with the payment of the stipulated amount of money. Thus, though the rulers of Kabul and Zabul, acknowledging the suzerainty of the Chinese, were struggling hard with the Arabs, the latter made the routes of Kapiśā unsafe for the monks and pilgrims travelling between India and China, as I-tsing reported about 670 A. D.<sup>19a</sup>

In these circumstances, the states of India tried to cultivate close relations with China to win her goodwill evidently because of her great prestige, and the T'ang court also considered it advantageous to have regular contacts and dealings with them to encourage them to resist and oppose the Tibetans and Arabs. The great Chinese Encyclopaedia *Tch'e-fou-yuen-koel*, prepared about 1013 A. D. by a commission of scholars, reproduces an ancient text, also occurring with some variations in the *Kieou T'ang-shu* at page 17 of Chapter 970, showing that the kings of all parts of India, viz. eastern, western, southern, northern and central, went to China, or sent envoys there, to render homage and offer presents to the empress Wu (684-704 A. D.) in 692 A. D. It may be translated as follows: "The third year *t'ien-cheou* (692 A. D.), the third month, the King of the Kingdom of Eastern India, Mo-lo-pa-mo, the King of the Kingdom of Western India, She-lo-i-to, the King of the Kingdom of Southern India, Tche-leou-k'i-pa-lo, the King of the Kingdom of Northern India, Na-na, the King of the Kingdom of Central India, Ti-mo-si-na, and the King of the Kingdom of K'ieou-tse (Kucha), Yen Yao-pa, all came to render homage and make presents."<sup>20</sup>

In order to understand the import of this important passage and the light it throws on Indian history in the last quarter of

19a *Ibid.*, p. 25.

20 Edouard Chavannes, *Notes additionnelles sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux*, pp. 24-25; see also Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

the seventh century, it is necessary to find out who the kings, mentioned in it, could possibly be. We would start with Eastern India.

The King of Eastern India in 692 A. D. is called Mo-lo-pa-mo. In the *Kieou T'angs-hu* (Chapter 198, p. 9), his name is spelt as Mo-lo-tche-mo. In this name *pa-mo* signifies *varman* and *tche-mo* possibly *śarman*. We prefer the former reading because *varman*-ending names are often borne by kings of Eastern India in the latter part of the seventh century. The Maukhari kings of Kanauj had *varman* ending names. Maukhari Grahavarman was the brother-in-law of Harṣa and, after his death at the hands of Devagupta of East Malwa, Harṣa ascended his throne. But after the death of Harṣa and the transportation of the usurper Arjuna or Aruṇāśva to China, some scion of the Maukhari house seems to have staged a comeback and assumed the name of Īśānavarman which was borne by the founder of the imperial greatness of that house in the latter half of the sixth century. The biography of the Buddhist scholar, Vajrabodhi, contained in the *Tcheng-iuen siug-ting-i-kia-mou-lou*, compiled by Iuen-tchao in the beginning of the ninth century, informs us that Vajrabodhi was the son of a Kṣatriya king of Central India, I-she-na-kia-mo, and that he was born in 661 A. D. and studied at Nālandā upto the age of 26 after which he went on a pilgrimage to Kapilavāstu and then went south and reached the court of Narasimhavarman of the Pallava house on his way to Ceylon and thence to China. The name *I-sha-na-kia-mo* is a transcription of *Īśānakarman* which appears to be a mistake for *Īśānavarman*, as Sylvain Lévi has very plausibly suggested.<sup>21</sup> This Īśānavarman was, in all probability, Īśānavarman II of the Maukhari house. It seems that, after Harṣa, he returned

21 Sylvain Lévi, *The Mission of Wang Hiuen-t'se*, op. cit., p. 45.

to the old capital of the Maukharis and resuscitated the fallen fortunes of that house. We learn from a seal about a son of Avantivarman, besides Grahavarman, whose name was probably Sucandravarman.<sup>22</sup> It may well be that this person was the same who is mentioned in the biography of Vajrabodhi as Īśānavarman. Should this suggestion be valid it would appear that he came to be known by this name because of resuscitating the fortunes of his family and repeating the feat of Īśānavarman. Or else, this Īśānavarman was a successor of the king whose name was probably Sucandravarman. In any case, Īśānavarman was succeeded by another Maukhari prince Bhogavarman who was the son-in-law of the Later Gupta king Ādityasena and the father-in-law of the Nepalese king Śivadeva II.<sup>23</sup> Then we come across the name of Manorathavarman in an inscription found at the village Iliya in the Chakiya Tehsil of the Banaras District. It speaks of the setting up of a *kīrtti* by one a part of whose name was *rativarman* and who worked under Śrī-Manorathavarmadeva.<sup>24</sup>

We propose to identify this king with Mo-lo-pa-mo of the Chinese record, these four words signifying the four syllables of his name (*ma* = *mano*, *la* or *ra* = *ratha*, *pa* or *va* = *var*, *mo* = *man*).<sup>25</sup> There is no other king ruling in Eastern India in the last quarter of the seventh century whose name may correspond

22 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 284.

23 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 181.

24 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 246.

25 Chang Hsing-lang observes that the ancient people of China abbreviated the transliterated forms. For example, the name of Kaṇṣka is written in Fa-hien's *Records of Buddhist Countries* as *Kia-ni-kia* omitting the sound *ṣ* in the middle. Similarly, the name of Aśoka is transcribed as *Ah-yü* discarding the last syllable *ka*. Likewise in the *Han-shu*, the word *Ansaka*, the name of a famous Persian dynasty, is written as *An-hsi* without the last syllable *ka* (Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 6). Hence it is no wonder that, in the transcription of the Indian name as *Mo-lo-pa-mo*, some syllables are left out.

with that of this king ruling in 692 A. D.<sup>26</sup> Should this view be correct, we would see that king Manorathavarman established diplomatic relations with the T'ang court of China in 692 A. D. as the Chinese text, cited above, shows.\*

It is clear from the aforesaid data that, after Harṣa, in the latter part of the seventh century, there was a restoration of Maukhari power in North India. We have to consider this development in the context of the fortunes of the Later Guptas. This dynasty was ruling in Eastern Malwa (Bhilsa region) and, in the beginning of the seventh century, its king, Mahāsenagupta, had close relations with the Vardhana rulers\*\* of Thanesar as the remark of Bāṇa that he sent his two sons, Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta, to wait upon the princes, Rājyavardhana and Harṣavardhana, shows.<sup>27</sup> It appears that,

26 P. C. Bagchi (*Sino-Indian Studies*, Vol. I, Part 2) suggests that the name of this king can be restored as Malavarman; but we do not know of any king of this name in the last quarter of the seventh century.

\*[Because the Maukhari king had his headquarters in U. P., the Chinese were expected to mention him as king of Central India, and not of Eastern India. 'Madhyadeśa' was called 'Central India' by the Chinese, while the Buddhists included Magadha in Madhyadeśa.—Ed.]

\*\*[Better—Puṣyabhūti rulers.—Ed.]

27 Some writers believe that the Later Guptas belonged to Magadha originally. See R. C. Majumdar, *The Classical Age*, p. 73; R. D. Banerji, 'Later Guptas of Magadha', *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XIV, p. 264, J. E. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, intro. p. 14. But it is the Maukharis, not the Later Guptas, who are found ruling in Magadha in the sixth century (E. A. Pires, *The Maukharis*, Madras, 1934, p. 84). It is significant that, even in the Deo-Baranark inscription of the Later Gupta king Jīvitagupta II, mention is made of the grants of the Maukhari kings Śarvavarman and Avantivarman in South Bihar. Hiuen-tsang also found a Varman king, Pūrṇavarman, possibly of the Maukhari family, rather than a Later Gupta king, ruling over Magadha. Hence there are strong grounds for agreeing with Krishnakumari J. Virji (*Ancient History of Saurāṣṭra*, Appendix C, pp. 130-33) that the Later Guptas originally belonged to Malwa. [The same suggestion was made earlier by others; cf. Sircar in *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. XI, 1945, pp. 69ff. Hiuen-tsang speaks of the Maurya king of Magadha named Pūrṇavarman.—Ed.]



at that time, he was pressed by the Cālukyas and Kalacuris.<sup>28</sup> However, one Devagupta, who probably represented some collateral line, since he is not referred to in the dynastic records of the Later Guptas, in alliance with the king of Gauda, Śaśāṅka, invaded Kanauj, defeated and killed its Maukhari ruler, Grahavarman, and threatened to pounce upon Thanesar.<sup>29</sup> But the valiant prince Rājyavardhana rushed to oust him from Kanauj and inflicted a crushing defeat on him. However, Rājyavardhana was treacherously assassinated by Śaśāṅka whereupon Harṣavardhana proceeded to avenge himself on the Gauda king and eventually became the ruler of Kanauj. It appears that Devagupta was wiped out from Malwa and Mādhavagupta installed on the throne after the establishment of Harṣa at Kanauj. But, after his death, Mādhavagupta's son, Ādityasena, asserted his power and occupied some parts of Magadha where we find his records. In this endeavour, he must have encountered the resistance of the Varman rulers, one of whom Pūrṇavarman, is mentioned as ruling over that region by Hiuen-tsang, belonging obviously to the Maukhari house.\*

28 The Abhona plates of Kalacuri Śaṅkaragaṇa, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 297; V. V. Mirashi, *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 38.

29 Bāna does not name the king of Malwa who invaded Kanauj; but the Madhuban and Banskhera inscriptions mention Devagupta as the enemy of Rājyavardhana (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 72-74; Vol. IV, p. 10). Since Rājyavardhana got the opportunity to fight with two enemies only, the Hūṇas of the North-West and the king of Malwa, who had taken Grahavarman of Kanauj by surprise and killed him, it is clear that the latter is the same as Devagupta of the Madhuban and Banskhera records (R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, pp. 65-66).

\*[In a Nepal record, Ādityasena is called 'king of Magadha'. There is no proof of Later Gupta rule in Mālava (East Malwa) after Devagupta. Pūrṇavarman, whom Hiuen-tsang regards as a scion of the Maurya dynasty, seems to have been ruling in Magadha before Harṣa's occupation of that country. Mādhavagupta may have been placed in charge of Magadha or a part of it.—Ed.]

We do not know about his relations with Sucandravarman<sup>30</sup> or Īśānvarman II; but we are aware of the fact that he married his daughter to the Maukhari ruler Bhogavarman which suggests a sort of patchup. His inscription at Shahpur<sup>31</sup> in the Patna District, dated 66 of the Harṣa era, i.e. 672 A. D., does not mention any imperial title. Likewise his record at Apsad<sup>32</sup> in the Gaya District, which bears no date, is silent about his titles. Rather it refers to his glory arising from the destruction of enemies. Verses 17-19 and 21-22 of this epigraph describe the terrible wars with his enemies, in which he distinguished himself. From these we may gather that he had to struggle hard to extend his kingdom and assert his paramountcy which he declares in his Mandar hill inscriptions<sup>33</sup> in the Bhagalpur District, by assuming the imperial title of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja*.\*\* Thus it appears that, when he issued the Apsad inscription in the Patna District in 672 A. D.,\*\*\*he was not a paramount ruler and was struggling and fighting with his rivals for that position, but, by the time he issued the Mandar inscription in the Bhagalpur District, he acquired the rank of paramountcy. It is evident that he entrenched himself in Magadha and acquired the paramount position at the cost of the Maukharis whom he brought into line with him either as the result of war or of matrimonial alliance or perhaps both. In any case, the Mālava-Magadha

30. The name, Sucandravarman, is not clear in the record. The *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* mentions Suvrata as the successor of the king called Graha: *Īśāna-Sarva-pāṅkīṣa Grahatsuvrata (a)th=apārah* (K. P. Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, p. 45, verse 616).

31. J. F. Fleet, *CII*, Vol. III, p. 210.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 202.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 212.

\*\*[The Apsad inscription being in verse, there is little scope of any title in it, while the Shahpur inscription is a private record merely mentioning the *rājya* of Ādityasena without using any royal title at all.—Ed.]

\*\*\* [The reference is really to the Shapur inscription.—Ed.]

conflict was the dominant feature of the politics of Northern India in the latter half of the seventh century and impinged itself on the thought of fiction writers, like Daṇḍin, who places some of his stories in the *Daśakumāracarita* and *Avantisundarikathā* against its background.<sup>34</sup>

We do not know upto which year Ādityasena lived, for we have no record of his son Devagupta, and the Mangraon inscription,<sup>35</sup> from the Shahabad District, and Kaulesvari hill Inscription,<sup>36</sup> from the Hazaribag District, of his grandson Viṣṇugupta also bear no date in any era and, likewise, the Deo Baranark inscription<sup>37</sup> of his great-grandson, Jivitagupta II, is undated ; but it is clear that he continued to rule after 672 A.D. and attained imperial position which he bequeathed to his son Devagupta. It is this Devagupta who is referred to in the aforesaid Chinese texts as Ti-po-si-na or Ti-mo-si-na.\* These transcriptions stand for a Sanskrit original Devasena. It appears that Devagupta was wrongly called Devasena on the analogy of the *sena*-ending name of his father Ādityasena. That he ruled in 692 A. D. and developed diplomatic relations with the Chinese court shows his importance in that period.

Coming to South India, we find king Tche-leou-k'i-pa-lo, spelt as Tche-leou-k'i-pa-lo-p'o in the *Kieou T'ang Shu*, ruling there in 692 A. D. and establishing diplomatic relations with the T'ang court of China. This name unmistakably stands for *Cālukya Vallabha*. We know that the Cālukyas of Bādāmi were the most powerful rulers of the Deccan at that time and

34 *Avantisundarikathā*, ed. S. K. Pillai (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series), pp. 171-72 ; *Daśakumāracarita* (Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series), pp. 10-11.

35 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 241 ff.

36 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 84.

37 *CH*, Vol. III, p. 215.

\*[It is difficult to believe that Devagupta's kingdom in Bihar would be located in Central India and the Maukhari kingdom in Eastern India.—Ed.]

Vinayāditya (681-96 A. D.) was in occupation of their throne. He was known by the title of Śrīpṛthivīvallabha, besides others, and used imperial titles.<sup>38</sup> In his inscriptions, he claims to have reduced the Pallavas, Kalabhras, Keralas, Haihayas, Vilas, Malavas, Colas, Pāndyas and others to servitude like the Āluvas, Gaṅgas and others. Later inscriptions credit him with having realized tribute from the king of islands (*dvīpas*) like Kamera, Pārasika and Sindhala.<sup>39</sup> The Nerur plates<sup>40</sup> also state that his son Vijayāditya fought with 'the lord of the whole of northern regions' (*sakal-ottarāpatha-nātha*) and acquired the Pāli-dhvaja standard, the Gaṅgā-Yamunā symbols and other things, though he himself fell into the hands of the enemy. This event appears to have taken place in 695-96 A.D. for it is not mentioned in the Harihara plates<sup>41</sup> of Vinayāditya issued in 594 A. D. It appears from the Chinese texts, quoted above, that he, in keeping with his policy of cultivating relations with the rulers of distant countries, and to proclaim his paramountcy in his own territory and to gain in status and stature by having contact with the Imperial T'angs, sent a diplomatic mission to China in 692 A. D.

We have seen above that Vinayāditya speaks of the subjugation of the Pallavas. His Pallava contemporaries were Parameśvaravarman I (669-90 A.D.) and his son Narasiṃhavarman II Rājasimha (690 to 728-29 A.D.). It appears from the life of Vajrabodhi that there was a famine in the Pallava kingdom about 689 A.D. and the *Avantisundarikathāsāra* of Daṇḍin refers to a serious disturbance at Kāñcī which led that author

38 K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, in *The Early History of the Deccan*, ed. G. Yazdani, Vol. I, p. 225.

39 Raygaḍ plates, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 14; J. F. Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. II, Part D), p. 360.

40 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 125ff.

41 *Loc. cit.*

to leave it for some time.<sup>42</sup> It is not unlikely that the Cālukyas thought it a good opportunity to fish in troubled waters. Whatever may be the situation, Narasimhavarman succeeded in tiding over it. The titles of *Raṇajaya*, *Raṇavikrama*, *Amitramalla*, *Atiraṇacaṇḍa*, *Arimardana*, *Amitraśaṇi*, *Pārthavikrama*, *Samaradhanañjaya*, *Saṅgrāmarāma*, etc., adopted by him, show that he distinguished himself in warfare and held his own against his adversaries. In token of his successes and to express his imperial and paramount status among the neighbours and contemporaries and possibly to counteract the claims of the Cālukyas, or at least to rival them, he also established diplomatic contacts with the Chinese court and, for that purpose, built a temple in his kingdom in honour of the Chinese requesting them to give a name to it which they did by calling it *koei-hoa*, 'that which seeks recourse to virtue'.<sup>43</sup> According to the *Tch'e-fou-yuen-koei*, the Pallava monarch informed the T'ang court that he proposed to employ his cavalry and elephant corps against the Arabs (*Ta-che*) and the Tibetans (*T'ou-po*) and others and requested that a name be given to his army whereupon the empress named it 'the army that cherished virtue'.<sup>44</sup> The same text says that, in the eleventh month of the same year, the empress sent an ambassador to the Pallava monarch conferring on him, through a missive, the title of King of South India.<sup>45</sup> Some scholars take the proposal of Narasimhavarman to fight with the Arabs and Tibetans literally and, keeping in view the impossibility of any contact between the Pallavas and these peoples at that time, try to explain it in fanciful ways. For example, T. V. Maha-

42 T. V. Mahalingam, *Kāñcīpuram in Early South Indian History*, p. 110.

43 *Kieou T'ang Shu* (Ch. 198, p. 9) cited in E. Chavannes, *Notes additionnelles sur les Tou-kiue Occidentaux*, p. 44, note 3.

44 E. Chavannes, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

45 *Ibid.*, p. 45.

lingam holds that the Tibetans came into clash with the Pallavas in South-East Asia, which was under the supremacy of the latter, just as they menaced the empire of the Chinese. Hence the Pallavas and the Chinese made common cause against the Tibetans. Likewise, he thinks that the Arabs challenged both the Pallavas and the Chinese in South-East Asia and thereby drove them together.<sup>46</sup> But we have no clear evidence of the rule of the Pallavas in South-East Asia and we do not know how the expansion of the Tibetans endangered the interests of the Pallavas or clashed with them anywhere. Likewise there is nothing to suggest any conflict between the Arabs and the Pallavas in that age. Hence the theory of antagonism between the Tibetans and the Arabs, on the one hand, and the Pallavas, on the other, has to be dismissed. What appears likely is that the Pallava monarch raised the bogey of the Tibetan and Arab conflict simply to carry favour with the Chinese who were really hard pressed by them in the western parts of their empire. He thought that by offering to fight with these peoples, though contact between them was wellnigh impossible, he would win the sympathy and goodwill of the Chinese empress, which would strengthen their relations and alliance. That the Chinese heard his proposal, absurd though it was, shows how desperate they were and how willing to clutch at any straw promising them support.

The aforesaid dealings show that, whereas in the last decade of the seventh century the Cālukyas were the dominant and paramount power in the Deccan, in the first quarter of the eighth, that position passed on to the Pallavas. The Cālukyas were struggling not only with the Pallavas in the south, but also with the Maitrakas in the north and west. Vinayāditya's Maitraka contemporary was Śīlāditya III. In the very first inscription of his reign, dated 691 A. D., he assumes the

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<sup>46</sup> V.T. Mahalingam, *op. cit.* p. 118.

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imperial title of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara* showing his paramount status.<sup>47</sup> He is evidently identical with She-lo-i-to (Śīlāditya) who, according to the *Tch'e-fou-yuen-koei*, cited above, established contacts with the Tang court of China in 692 A. D.

Śīlāditya III came to the throne of Valabhī after his father Śīlāditya II, whose last inscription is dated 676 A. D. He appears to have had a row with the Gūrjara king Dadda III ruling in Western India between the Kim and the Mahi. Dadda III tried to expand his realm during the reign of Śīlāditya II, which prompted his son to try conclusions with him. If Śīlāditya III is the same as Vajraṭa or Vajjaḍa, who is said to have invaded the kingdom of Dadda III and sustained a defeat at the hands of the Cālukya general Dharāśraya Jayasīṃha, whom Dadda III invited for his help, as V. V. Mirashi suggests,<sup>48</sup> we would have an idea of the difficulty of this Maitraka monarch in that period of clash and conflict. It is suggested that this success of the Cālukyas lies at the basis of the claim of Vinayāditya to have reduced the lord of Northern India made in the Nerur plates, cited above.<sup>49</sup> But, as Mirashi has shown, this view is not correct because the two events are distinct both in regard to date and details.<sup>50</sup> What appears likely is that the Maitraka king suffered a set-back in his dealings with the Gūrjaras due to the intervention of the Cālukyas, but that, soon he recouped and asserted his paramountcy through the assumption of imperial titles and again invited a clash with the Cālukyas which is referred to in the account of the battle between Vinayāditya's son Vajrāditya\* and the lord of the whole of North India. In this way, the

47 Krishnakumari J. Virji, *Ancient History of Saurāṣṭra*, p. 90.

48 *CII*, Vol. IV, intro., p. 54.

49 K. A. Nilakanta Śastri, in *op. cit.*, p. 226.

50 V. V. Mirashi, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

\*[ Vijayāditya.—Ed. ]

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reign of Śilāditya III was marked by stress and strain, in which he deemed it desirable to form diplomatic relations with China and thereby seek support to his claim for paramountcy.

Having considered the affairs in Eastern, Middle, Southern and Western India, let us now see what was happening in the northern part of the country at that time. The Chinese text, *Tch'e-fou-yuen-koei*, cited above, states that, in 692 A. D., Northern India was under the rule of one Na-na. The *Kieou T'ang Shu* gives his name as Leou-k'i-na-na. The syllables *Leou-k'i-na* evidently stand for *Lakhaṇa* or *Lakḥkhaṇa* and *na* signifies the second part of the name beginning with the dental nasal. Curiously, the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* mentions a king named *Lakḥkhaṇa Narendrāditya*,<sup>51</sup> the first part of whose name corresponds to *Leou-k'i-na* and the second part represents that beginning with *na*. Cunningham has noted the coins of Hephthalite type issued by a king *Lakhaṇa* or *Lamata Udayāditya*. The obverse of them bears the beardless head of the king to right, similar to the heads of *Jabula* and *Khingila*, with crescent on helmet and small earrings in ears and the legend *Raja Lakhana (?) Udayāditya*.<sup>52</sup> Stein proposes to identify *Lakḥkhaṇa Narendrāditya* of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* with *Lakhaṇa Udayāditya* of the coins realising, however, the difficulty presented by the difference in their surnames.<sup>53</sup>

In order to determine the chronological position of *Lakḥkhaṇa Narendrāditya* we must examine the genealogical tables given in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. Let us start with some fixed point, say, the death of *Candrāpīḍa* of the *Kārkoṭa* dynasty. According to *Kalhaṇa*, he reigned for 8 years and 8 months.<sup>54</sup>

51 *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, III. 383-85 (ed. M. A. Stein, p. 38). The variants of *lakḥkhaṇa* are *lakṣaṇa*, *laḥkṣaṇa*, *lakkhaṇa* and *lahkhaṇa* (*Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, ed. Vishva Bandhu, Part I, p. 100).

52 *Later Indo-Scythians*, pp. 265 and 279.

53 *Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Vol. I, p. 106, note.

54 *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, IV. 118.



The *T'ang Shu* (Ch. 221) states that, in the beginning of the period *k'ai-yuen* (713-41 A. D.), the king of Kashmir sent ambassadors to the T'ang court of China and, in the eighth year, 720 A. D., an imperial decree was issued conferring on him the title of King.<sup>55</sup> If we assume that Candrāpīḍa (Tchen-t'o-lo-pi-li) sent the ambassador to China just on coming to the throne, it would appear that he became king in 713 A. D., which would mean that he died in the eighth month of 722 A. D. Now, his predecessor Durlabhaka Pratāpāditya II is said to have reigned for 50 years and, before him, Durlabhavardhana, for 36 years, that is to say, the latter founded the Kārkoṭa dynasty in 627 A.D.\* Before the advent of that dynasty, three kings, Bālāditya, Vikramāditya and Raṇāditya, are said to have reigned for 36 years 8 months, 42 years and 300 years respectively. This would bring us down to 248 A.D. Before that Lakṣhaṇa Narendrāditya is said to have reigned for 13 years, i.e. from 235 to 248 A.D. But this is manifestly impossible for the Hephthalites or Tou-kiue had not appeared on the scene by that time.

Let us tackle the problem from another angle and start from the reign of Mihirakula. The period of Mihirakula is c. 511-35 A. D. However, the *Rāṣṭarāṅgiṇī* says that he reigned for 70 years, i.e., from c. 511 to 571 A. D.\* Then his eight successors reigned for 419 years 2 months, i.e., upto 990 A. D.\* Thus the eighth of them Kṣiṅkhila Narendrāditya occupied the throne from 954 to 990 A. D.,\* his reign period being 36 years, 3 months and 10 days. Now we know of one *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārāṣṭhitrāja Śāhi* Kṣiṅgāla from an inscription engraved on the base of a marble image of Gaṇeśa which is kept at Dargah Pir Ratan Nath at Kabul and is said to have been found at Gardez 70 miles to the south of Kabul.

<sup>55</sup> E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue Occidentaux*, p. 166; *Notes additionnelles sur les Tou-kiue Occidentaux* p. 44.

\* [ Sic.—Ed. ]

This king, Śāhi Khiṅgāla, is, in all probability, the same as Deva-Śāhi-Khiṅgila or Khiṅgi of some coins and Khiṅkhila Narendrāditya of the *Rājataranginī*. But the palæography of this inscription shows that it belonged to the sixth or seventh century.<sup>56</sup> Hence there could be no question of its having been engraved in the tenth century.

The reign period of the ninth successor of Mihirakula, named Yudhiṣṭhira I, is not specified by Kalhaṇa, because he seems to have lost the throne very soon. After him the line of Pratāpāditya I, consisting of 6 kings, reigned for 192 years, i.e., upto 1182 A. D. After that there was a restoration of the Gonanda dynasty in the person of Meghavāhana who was invited from Gandhāra to ascend the throne. His dynasty, comprising 7 kings including himself, reigned for 211 years and 2 months, i.e., upto 1393 A. D. The last king of this dynasty was Laḥkhana Narendrāditya, whose reign period of 13 years would accordingly extend from 1380 to 1392 A.D. This would be quite impossible, for at that time Sultān Qutbuddīn (1373-89 A. D.) was the ruler of the Kashmir Valley.<sup>57</sup>

Thus it is clear that neither by starting backward from the date of the death of Candrāpīḍa in 722 A.D. nor by proceeding forward from the accession of Mihirakula in 511 A. D. can we arrive at an acceptable date for Laḥkhana Narendrāditya. Obviously there is much confusion in the chronology of Kalhaṇa caused by the indiscriminate tagging of dynasties which seem to have reigned at different places in the same periods. For example, we know that Śāhi Khiṅgāla or Khiṅkhila was a ruler of the Kabul region, yet he has been shown by Kalhaṇa as a king of Kashmir. Thus it is clear that no reliance can be placed on Kalhaṇa's account so far as the chronological position of Laḥkhana Narendrāditya is concerned.

<sup>56</sup> D. C. Sircar, 'Kabul Inscription of Śāhi Khiṅgāla', *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 44.

<sup>57</sup> Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir under the Sultans*, p. 53.

What appears likely is that Khingāla or Khinkhila Narendrāditya was a successor of Mihirakula who ruled in the Kabul region probably in the latter half of the sixth century. Soon after him, the Western Tou-kiue or Turks conquered and subjugated the Hephthalite kingdom in the Kabul region. Their rulers and chiefs conquered many countries and even ruled over Kashmir and vast regions in North India. One of these rulers was Meghavāhana, mentioned by Kalhana, as I propose to show in another study. He and his successor ruled in the first half of the seventh century. But the Kārkoṭas supplanted their rule in Kashmir and they were confined to the Kabul region, Kāpiśi and Gandhāra. In 659-60 A. D., the Chinese brought them under subjection and established their administration between the Oxus and the Indus, treating the subjugated rulers as their subordinates, nominees and vassals. Laḥkhaṇa Narendrāditya was one of them. He lived in the last quarter of the seventh century and, in 692 A. D., sent a diplomatic mission to China, rendering homage to the T'ang monarch and receiving from him the recognition as the ruler of Northern India.

It is clear from the above discussion that, in 692 A. D., the rulers of all parts of India, whom we have identified with Manorathavarman and Devagupta of Eastern and Central India, Vinayāditya of the Deccan, Śilāditya III of Western India and Laḥkhaṇa Narendrāditya of Gandhāra and Northern India, established diplomatic relations with China and sent envoys and presents there. They did so because China was the dominant power in Eastern and Central Asia upto the Indus and an effective bulwark against the expansion of the Tibetans and the Arabs and that relations with her were considered a sign of prestige and recognition by her a mark of high political status and even paramountcy for which the various rulers of different parts of India were struggling

at that time. The attitude of the Indians of that time towards China was rightly summed up by the contemporary Chinese observer I-tsing as follows : "In there anyone, in the five parts of India, who does not admire China ? All within the four seas respectfully receive the command. They (Indians) say that Mañjuśrī is at present living in that country (China). When they hear that one is a priest of the Devaputra, all pay great honour and respect, wherever one goes."<sup>58</sup>

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58 J. Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malaya Archipelago* by I-Tsing, p. 136.

## SILVER COINS OF RATNAMĀṆIKYA AND DHANYAMĀṆIKYA OF TRIPURĀ

D. C. SIRCAR

Among the photographs of coins received by me for examination from Sri K. P. Dutta, Deputy Director of Education, Government of Tripurā, six are silver issues of Ratnamāṇikya and Dhanyamāṇikya, three belonging to the former and three to the latter.

The three coins of Dhanyamāṇikya are of two different types. Two of them bear the king's name, but no date. The legend on the third coin contains the names of Dhanyamāṇikya and his queen Kamalādevī together with the date of issue given as Śaka 1412 corresponding to 1490-91 A.D. There is no doubt about the reading of the date. Such coins are already well known for a long time,<sup>1</sup> though scholars did not notice the bearing of their palæographical evidence on the date of Ratnamāṇikya, on which there is no unanimity of opinion. The characters in the legends of the issues of the two kings having very close resemblance, however, Ratnamāṇikya.

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1 In Vol. II (p. xxix) of the *Rājamāla* edited by K. P. Sen, reference is made to 21 silver coins of Dhanyamāṇikya, 17 of which were issued in Śaka 1412. Of the remaining 4 coins, 2 had no date and the other two were dated respectively in Śaka 1419 and 1428. Only two of these coins are illustrated, one undated and the other dated in Śaka 1412. Dhanyamāṇikya's coin of Śaka 1412 has also been published elsewhere. On another coin has been read (1) *Cāṭigrāma-vi-* (2) *Jayī-śrī-śrī-Dha-* (3) *nyanāṇikya-Śrī-* (4) *Kamalādevyau* together with the date *Śaka 1435*. See poor illustration of this coin in Majumdar's *Bāṅglādeśer Itihās—Madhya-yug*, Plate Ga (No. 3) between pp. 496 and 497.

could not have flourished at a date far removed from the said date of Dhanyamāṇikya's coins, i.e. Śaka 1412 or 1490-91 A.D.

The three coins of Ratnamāṇikya belong to three different types. They are also already known. Unfortunately, while the three coins of this king published by R. D. Banerji in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1913-14,<sup>2</sup> are of the undated type, the dates found on the dated types of Ratna's coinage were all wrongly read so that the doubt created by the unreliable Tripurā traditions regarding the date of the king continues to persist. K. P. Sen says in his edition of the *Rājamālā* (called by him *Śrī-Rājamālā*), Vol. I (published in the Tripurā year 1336=1929 A.D.) as follows : "Rājāphā's son was Ratnaphā (later Ratnamāṇikya) about whose reign period there is a controversy. According to Kailās Bābu (i.e. K. C. Sinha), he ascended the throne in the Tripurā year 692 (1282 A. D.). Mr. J. G. Cumming, the Settlement Officer of Chakla Roshanabad, mentions the 44 years from 1279 to 1323 A. D. as the reign period of Ratnamāṇikya. The late Mr. E. F. Sandys has accepted the above view in his *History of Tripura*. But none of these dates is correct. Two coins of Ratnamāṇikya, issued in Śaka 1288 (1366 A.D.) have been discovered. Thus it is proved beyond any question that he was alive and was ruling in 1366 A. D."<sup>3</sup> Elsewhere in the same work, Sen speaks of no less than 20 coins of Ratnamāṇikya, some of them bearing the dates Śaka 1286, 1288 and 1289.<sup>4</sup> We have

2 See pp. 249-53. There are mistakes in Banerji's reading of the legends on the coins. What he reads as *ddi dudda* is *Śrī-Durgā* as tentatively suggested by N. K. Bhattasali (*JASB*, NS, No. XXXVII, p. 50). Banerji's reading *Varanapuri-jayah*, 'the conquest of Vārana, a city', seems to be equally wrong. It may really be *\*rādhan-āpta-vijayah*.

3 See Vol. I, p. 196; cf. Vol. III, p. 151, note. It seems that some earlier writers read the date on one of the coins of Ratnamāṇikya as the Śaka year 1186 (1264-65 A.D.). Cf. B. N. Datta, *Udaypur Vivaraṇ*, p. 11, note.

4 Vol. II, p. xxxi.

now evidence to show that all these dates are wrongly read and that Ratnamāṇikya flourished a century later.

One of our three coins shows the name of Ratnamāṇikya on the obverse, its reverse mentioning the goddess Durgā to whom the king was devoted; but there is no date. The other two coins give the date of their issue, and fortunately there is no doubt about the reading of the date on one of the two issues. The reverse legend of this coin runs—*śrī-Durgg-ārāḍhan-āpta-vijayaḥ Ratnapure Śaka 1386*, and this reading cannot be challenged.<sup>5</sup> The reverse legend on the third coin of Ratnamāṇikya reads—*śrī-Durggā-pada-paraḥ Ratnapure Śaka 1387*. Unfortunately the upper part of the figures as well as of some of the letters is cut off from the flan, so that our reading in this case may not be readily accepted by all students of history. But, from the clear reading of the date 1386 on one specimen, there can be no doubt now that Ratnamāṇikya issued coins in the Śaka years 1386, 1387, 1388 and 1389 corresponding respectively to 1464-65, 1465-66, 1466-67 and 1467-68 A.D. The intervening period between the reigns of Ratnamāṇikya and Dhanyamāṇikya was thus not more than a little above 20 years and this is clearly supported by the palæography of

<sup>5</sup> In June 1970, Sri Vasant Chowdhury and Sri Parimal Ray published a paper entitled *Tripurā Mudrāy Mūrtividyaḥ Prabhāva* in the *Ravi-vāsariya Ananda Bazar Patrikā*, Āsāḍh 6, B. S. 1377, in which they illustrated a coin of Ratnamāṇikya and read its date of issue as Śaka 1386. That the second figure in the date of Ratna's coins is 3 and not 2 was later suggested also by Dr. A. N. Lahiri in his paper entitled 'The Initial Date of Ratnamāṇikya I and the Chronology of Early Tripurā Kings' read at the Jabalpur Session of the Indian History Congress held in December, 1970. See *Summary of Papers*, pp. 90-91. The paper has not yet been published. Lahiri accepted the old reading of the dates on Ratna's issues, with a poor illustration of one coin, in a small note on Tripurā coins in Majumdar's work cited above, which was published in B.S. 1373. It appears that Lahiri has wrongly read the letters 'pta-vi' in the legend as *puri* (which is meaningless) while Chowdhury and Ray have read the legend correctly.

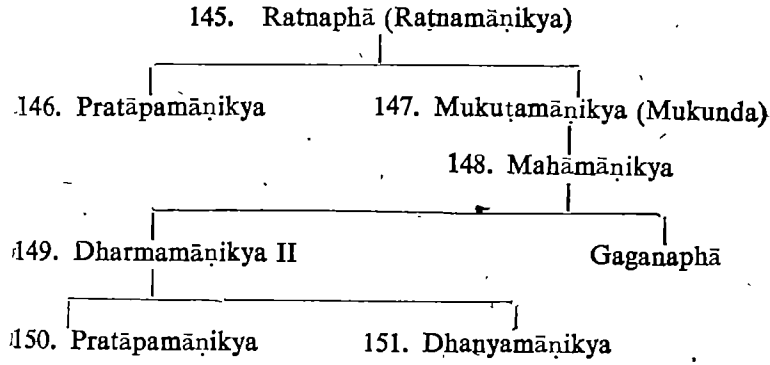
their coin legends. Ratnamāṇikya therefore ruled in the latter half of the fifteenth century A.D. and not one century earlier. This is further supported by another aspect of the palæography of their legends. The form of the letter *ś* as found in them is not expected in a record much earlier than the close of the fifteenth century A.D.

There may be several reasons why a mistake was made in reading the date on the coins of Ratnamāṇikya. In the first place, the second figure of 1386, etc., may not have been clear or completely preserved in the coins that were available for examination. Unfortunately, it is intriguing that Sen did not illustrate such coins. It may also be noted that most writers who depended on the Tripurā traditions placed the accession of Ratnamāṇikya in the latter half of the fourteenth century A.D. as we have already seen. Moreover, and this is of great importance, formerly historians had no idea (and many of them have even now little idea) about the unreliable nature of such late compositions as the Tripurā chronicle called *Rājamālā*. In 1948, we tried to show that the earlier part of the *Rājamālā*, which is supposed to have been composed in the fifteenth century A. D., could not have been written before the latter half of the eighteenth century.<sup>6</sup> That the so-called Tripurā tradition contained in works like the *Rājamālā* is imaginary in certain parts is now further suggested by the correctly read date of Ratnamāṇikya's coins as we shall see below.

K. P. Sen quoted the genealogy of the Tripurā kings from Ratnamāṇikya to Dhanyamāṇikya as follows :—

6 See our *Śākta Piṭhas* (p. 4, note) which originally appeared in the *Journal of the [Royal] Asiatic Society [of Bengal]*, Letters, Vol. XIV, 1948. It now appears that a king named Vijayamāṇikya ruled in Tripurā in the Śaka year 1410 (1488 A.D.), as known from a copper-plate grant of his time (*ibid.*, Vol. XVII, 1951, pp. 73ff.), although he is not known from the Tripurā chronicles. This also proves the unreliability of the Tripurā tradition.





The coins now show that Ratnamāṇikya was certainly on the throne in Śaka 1386 ( 1464-65 A. D. ) to Śaka 1389 ( 1467-68 A. D. ) while Dhanyamāṇikya was ruling in Śaka 1412 ( 1490-91 A. D. ) and that the intervening period between the end of Ratna's rule and the accession of Dhanya can at best be a little above 20 years as already indicated above. To place the reigns of five kings of four generations in this short period may not be altogether impossible, but is certainly doubtful, especially because it is not supported even by the *Rājamālā*, according to which Dharmamāṇikya, father of Dhanya, ruled for 32 years.<sup>7</sup> We have also seen above how K.C. Sinha, no doubt depending on one such tradition, speaks of Ratnamāṇikya's reign covering 44 years from 1282 A. D. Likewise different traditions quote Dharmamāṇikya's reign period variously as 32 years (1407-39 A. D.), 51 years (1407-58 A. D.) and 83 years (Śaka 1329-1412) and also as covering the period from the Tripurā year 841 to 871, i.e. Śaka 1353-84 or 1431-62 A. D.<sup>8</sup> The dates of the coins of Ratna and Dhanya now show that none of the above statements has any value. In any case, the belief that the five kings, mentioned in the tradition of the *Rājamālā* and some other works of the same type

7 K. P. Sen, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 6 and 175.

8 *Ibid.*, pp. 175-76.

and worth, ruled for more than a century lies at the root of the reading of the date on Ratna's coins as the Śaka year 1286, etc., (1364-65 A. D., etc.) in place of Śaka 1386, etc., which must be the correct readings.

In his paper referred to above, Lahiri also pointed out the unreliable nature of the genealogy of Tripurā kings, from Ratna to Dhanya as found in the *Rājamālā* and suggested that Ratnamānikya's son and successor was Dharmamānikya who was succeeded by his son Dhanyamānikya. Lahiri is therefore inclined to assign Dharmamānikya's reign between Śaka 1386-89 (1464-67 A. D.), the dates on Ratnamānikya's coins, and Śaka 1412 (1490-91 A. D.), the earliest date on the coins of Dhanyamānikya. Thus he says, "As it appears, Pratāpamānikya I and Mukutamānikya, the two supposed ruling sons of Ratnamānikya, were but shadowy figures, and Mahāmānikya, the supposed grandson of Ratnamānikya and the father of Dharmamānikya, is identical with Ratnamānikya himself. This means that Ratnamānikya *alias* Mahāmānikya was succeeded by his son Dharmamānikya, after whom Dhanyamānikya ruled." It seems that we have some evidence to show that this suggestion regarding the genealogy and chronology of the Tripurā kings is wrong.

It is not clear from the summary of his paper whether Lahiri is aware of a copper-plate grant of Dharmamānikya dated in Śaka 1380 (1458 A. D.). The text of the epigraph, which seems to be lost now, has been quoted as follows :

*Candra-varṣa-odbhavaḥ svāpa Mahāmānikyajāḥ sudhiḥ |*  
*śrī-śrīmad-Dharmamānikya-bhūpaś = Candra-kal-odbhavaḥ ||*  
*Śake sūny-āṣṭa-viśv-ābde varṣe Soma-dine tithau |*  
*Trayodaśyām site pakṣe Meṣe Sūryasya saṁkrame ||*  
*Kautuk-ādi-dvij-āgryeṣu pūjiteṣu ca c = āṣṭasu |*  
*bhūmīm dadau śasya-pūrṇām droṇa-viṁśa-nav-ādhikām ||*  
*jalāśayaṁ dvijāy = emam Dharmasāgaram = ākhyayā |*



1



2



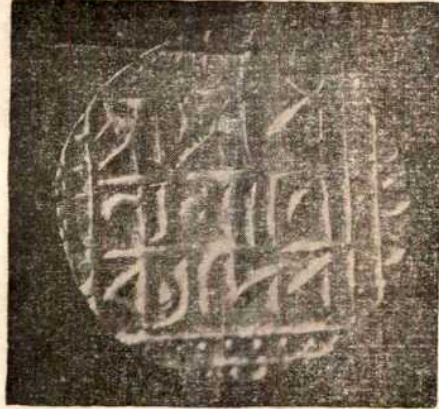
3



Figs. 1-3. Tripurā Coins of Ratnīmāṇikya (pp. 27ff.).  
Courtesy: *Rabindra Bhāratīyā Patrikā*.



PLATE II



4



5



6



Figs. 4-6. Tripurā Coins of Dhanyamāṇikya (dā. 27ff)  
Courtesy : Rabindra Bhārnti Patrikā.

*sa-bhūmi-phala-vṛkṣ-ādi-bhūmitaṁ dattavān = aham ||*  
*mama vaṁśa parikṣiṇe yaḥ kaścid = bhūpati bhavet |*  
*tasya dāsasya dāso = haṁ brahma-vṛttiṁ na lopayet ||*<sup>9</sup>

The language of the record is full of grammatical errors and its style very poor ; but it records the gift of 29 Dronas of land in favour of eight Brāhmaṇas headed by Kautuka made by king Dharmamāṇikya, who was the son of Mahāmāṇikya and belonged to the lunar dynasty, on Monday, the 13th lunar day of the bright fortnight during the Meṣa-saṅkrānti.

If this is regarded as a genuine record, Mahāmāṇikya and Dharmamāṇikya ruled earlier than Ratnamāṇikya and were no doubt the latter's ancestors. Considering the closeness of Dharmamāṇikya's date, viz. Śaka 1380 (1458-59 A. D.) and the earliest known date of Ratnamāṇikya, viz. Śaka 1386 (1464-65 A.D.), it is possible to conjecture that Ratnamāṇikya was the son of Dharmamāṇikya and grandson of Mahāmāṇikya. Thus the tradition about Ratnamāṇikya being the first Tripurā king with a *māṇikya*-ending name seems to be as unreliable as some other details of the Tripurā chronicles.

There is some evidence to show that Dharmamāṇikya's grant is a genuine document and that there is no mistake in the reading of its date. This is indicated by the fact that, according to the astronomical details quoted in the inscription, the date quite regularly corresponds to Monday the 27th March, 1458 A. D. The genuineness of the charter is further suggested by the poverty of its language and style. The *Rājamālā* also summarises the grant and quotes and translates the crucial verses 1-2. The grant was thus known to its author.

The Thai-Shan word *phā* (king), which was suffixed to the names of the Ahom kings of Assam, is also found at the end of the names of 71 Tripurā kings who preceded Ratna.<sup>10</sup> This

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 93. For a notice of the record in the *Rājamālā* text, see p. 5.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 90-91.

probably indicates the Thai-Shan origin of the ruling family of Tripurā. 'Tripurā' is the Sanskritised form of the name of the 'Tiprā' tribe to which the Tripurā royal family belongs. The said tribe is supposed to be culturally akin to the Kacharis.<sup>11</sup>

1. *Three Coins of Ratnamāṇikya.*

*No. 1.* Metal—silver ; Size—round, 25 mm. in diameter ; Weight—10.57 grammes (163 grains) ; Provenance—not known ; Date—not recorded.

*Obverse.* Legend in three lines in characters of the 15th-16th century A. D.—

1 *śrī-śrī-Ra-*

2 *tnamāṇi-*

3 *kyadevaḥ*

covering the field created by four second brackets on the top, bottom, left and right sides within a circle with two decorative semi-circular marks in the middle of each side in the space between the brackets and the circle and a chain of V-marks all around between the circle and the outer border.

*Reverse.* Conventional figure of lion, called the Tripurā lion, to left, within circle with a chain of V-marks all around between the circle and the outer border as on the obverse ; legend in two *akṣaras*, the first between the front and hind legs and the second on the right—*Du[rggā]*. The conjunct *rgg* has its regular medieval East Indian form on Nos. 2-3 to be noticed below. On the present coin, the subscript *g* is written with the curved stroke added not to the right of the vertical, but to its left apparently for want of space.

*No. 2.* Metal—silver ; Size—round, diameter 28 mm. ; Weight—10.5 grammes (162 grains) ; Provenance—not known ; Date—Śaka 1386 (1464-65 A.D.).

*Obverse.* Legend in three lines as on No. 1 in the cir-

<sup>11</sup> Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. VI, p. 483.

cular space created by a circle, the space along the border being divided into sixteen pockets each with a dot within.

*Reverse.* Within circle at the centre, conventional figure of the Tripurā lion, to left, with two stars above; continuation of legend along the border outside the circle, beginning from about X—*śrī-Durgg-ārāadhan-āpta-vijayaḥ Ratnapure Śaka 1386*. In this, *śrī-Drugg-ārāadhan-āpta-vijayaḥ* ('one who has obtained victory by worshipping the goddess Durgā') is an epithet of *śrī-śrī-Ratnamāṇikya-devaḥ* on the obverse. The coin was minted at Ratnapura, which was apparently the capital of king Ratnamāṇikya, named after himself, in the Śaka year 1386 corresponding to 1464-65 A. D. Ratnapura has been located in that part of the town of Udaypur, headquarters of a district or division of the Tripurā State, where the temples of Mahādeva, Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa and the Caturdaśadevatā stand. *Mahārāja* Virendrakīśoramāṇikya (1909-23 A. D.) renamed it as Rādhākīśorapura after his father Rādhākīśoramāṇikya (1897-1909 A.D.).<sup>12</sup>

No. 3. Metal—silver; Size—round, diameter 24 mm.; Weight—10.54 grammes (163 grains); Provenance—not known; Date—Śaka 1387 (1465-66 A.D.).

*Obverse.* Legend—same as on Nos. 1 and 2, but within a field bounded by an eight-sided double-line, the space beyond which upto the border being plain.

*Reverse.* Conventional Tripurā lion within circle as on No. 2; but the legend around, beginning from X, reads—*śrī-[Durgg]ā-pada-pa[raḥ] Ratnapure Śaka 1[3]8[7]*. Instead of *śrī-Durgg-ārāadhan-āpta-vijayaḥ* as on No. 2, the king's epithet is here *śrī-Druggā-pada-paraḥ*, 'devoted to the feet of the goddess Durgā'. The date is the Śaka year 1387 corres-

<sup>12</sup> See K. P. Sen, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 69, 266; Vol. II, pp. 31, 50, 311-12.

ponding to 1465-66 A.D., which is one year later than that of the date of No. 2.

The dates of these coins are very interesting as we have seen above. The king responsible for the issue of the coins is no doubt Ratnaphā whose name was changed to *Ratnamāṇikya* by the Gauḍa king according to the Tripurā tradition, and from which his successors are said to have had names ending with the word *māṇikya*.<sup>13</sup> He is Ratnamāṇikya I, a second king of the same name having ascended the throne of Tripurā in Śaka 1607 (1685-86 A.D.).<sup>14</sup>

## 2. Three Coins of *Dhanyamāṇikya*

*No. 1.* Metal—silver ; Size—round, 24 mm. in diameter ; Weight—10.62 grammes (164 grains) ; Provenance—not known ; Date not recorded.

*Obverse.* Within a square field bounded on four sides by two straight lines with a line of sparsely placed dots between them, with some decorative semi-circular marks in the spaces beyond the lines on the border, the legend in three lines in characters of the 15-16th century A.D.

1 *śrī-śrī-Dha-*

2 *nyamāṇi-*

3 *kyadevaḥ.*

*Reverse.* Conventional Tripurā lion, to right, within a circle with decorative V-marks all around on the border outside the circle ; a ball-like sign to the left and a dagger-like object below.

*No. 2.* Metal—silver ; Size—round, 23 mm. in diameter ; Weight—10.52 grammes ( 163 grains ) ; Provenance—not known ; Date—not recorded.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p.67. However, the tradition is wrong as shown above.

<sup>14</sup> *JAIH*, Vol. IV, p. 193.



*Obverse.* Legend in similar characters, in three lines, as on No. 1, within a square field bordered by double-line, with a chain of V-marks beyond the lines in the four spaces on the border.

*Reverse.* Conventional Tripurā lion similar to that on No. 1 with ball and dagger marks, and upturned V-marks beyond the circle around on the border.

No. 3. Metal—silver ; Size—round, 25 mm. in diameter ; Weight—10.42 grammes (161 grains) ; Provenance—not known ; Date—Śaka 1412 (1490-91 A.D.).

*Obverse.* Legend in similar characters, written in four lines bounded by lines on the top, bottom, right and left sides not joining one another, with the semi-circular marks on the four lines, the inscribed field looking like eight-sided—

- 1 *Tripur-endra-*
- 2 *śrī-śrī-Dhanya-*
- 3 *māṇikya-śrī-Ka-*
- 4 *malādevyau.*

‘The doubly illustrious Dhanyamāṇikya, the lord of Tripurā, and the illustrious Kamalādevī.’

*Reverse.* Conventional Tripurā lion to right, with *ardha-candra* above the legend on left, and below—Śaka 1412. The type of the figure 2 as used here is noticed in records like the Mehar plate<sup>15</sup> of Dāmodara, dated Śaka 1156 (1234 A. D.).

Unlike Nos. 1-2, this coin bears the date in Śaka 1412 (1490-91 A.D.) as well as the name of the queen, Kamalādevī. It is sometimes suggested that Nos. 1-2 were issued by king Dhanyamāṇikya before his marriage. However, from the fact that the largest number of Dhanya's coins were issued in Śaka 1412 or 1490-91 A. D., it would appear that he ascended the throne in the said year.

<sup>15</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 182ff. and Plate.

## CHARACTERISTICS OF BUDDHIST GODS IN PALI LITERATURE<sup>1</sup>

JNAN RANJAN HALDAR

Pali literature does not speak of any Supreme God. According to the *Dīghanikāya*,<sup>2</sup> all the gods of the Buddhists are inferior to the Buddha. The *Anguttaranikāya*<sup>3</sup> says that, though Sakka is the ruler of the gods, he is inferior to a *Bhikkhu* (who acquired Arahantship and was free from the defects of ordinary beings) because he is not free from *rāga*, *dosa*, and *moha* (passion, hatred and delusion). Though the *Brahmās*<sup>4</sup> are the highest of all gods, they are neither supreme nor are they creators of the universe. They are inferior to the Buddha. Sometimes the gods including *Brahmā* come on earth to worship the Buddha and to carry out his order.<sup>5</sup>

Beings above the human level, in certain respects, are regarded as gods. According to a late classification,<sup>6</sup> three

1 This was read at the Monthly Seminar held at the Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, on 26. 3. 70.

2 PTS, Vol. I, pp. 211-23.

3 PTS, Vol. I, pp. 144-45.

4 See below.

5 E. g., *Visuddhimagga*, PTS, Vol. I, p. 48. When the *Mahāsamaya Sutta* (*Dīghanikāya*, Vol. II, pp. 253-62) was preached at Mahāvana in Kapilavatthu, the gods of the ten thousand world-systems came to visit the Buddha and the monks. Of them, four gods of the *Suddhā ā ā* *Brahma*-world eulogised the Buddha in verse. The *Devatā Saṃyutta* (*Saṃyuttanikāya*, PTS, Vol. I, pp. 1-45) and the *Devatā Sutta* of the *Anguttaranikāya* (Vol. III, pp. 329-44; Vol. IV, pp. 27-40) refer to visits paid to the Buddha by various deities.

6 *Khuddakapāṭha Commentary*, PTS, p. 123.

kinds of *Devā* (gods) are found—(1) *Sammutidevā* (conventional gods; e. g., kings and princes); *Visuddhidevā* (beings who are divine by virtue of their religious merit, e. g., the Arahants and Buddhas); and (3) *Uppattidevā* (beings who are born divine).

The last category included various groups of gods, the commonest number of which is seven,<sup>7</sup> viz., (1) *Cātummahārājika*, (2) *Tāvattīsa*, (3) *Yāma*, (4) *Tusita*, (5) *Nimmānaratī*, (6) *Paranimmitavasavattī*, and (7) *Brahmakāyika*.

The *Brahmakāyikā Devā*<sup>8</sup> consist of the following twenty classes of Brahmins—(1) *Brahmapārisajjā*, (2) *Brahmapurohitā*, (3) *Mahābrahmā*, (4) *Parittābhā*, (5) *Appamāṇābhā*, (6) *Abhasarā*, (7) *Parittasubhā*, (8) *Appamāṇasubhā*, (9) *Subhakiṇhā*, (10) *Vehapphalā*, (11) *Asaññasattā*, (12) *Avihā*, (13) *Atappā*, (14) *Sudassā*, (15) *Sudassī*, (16) *Akaṇiṭṭhā*, (17) *Ākāsañācāyatanapagā*, (18) *Viññāṇācāyatanapagā*, (19) *Ākiñcāyatanapagā*, and (20) *Nevaśāññācāyatanapagā*.

Buddhist literature recognises the Vedic tradition of personification and deification of natural phenomena. The *Saṃyuttanikāya*<sup>9</sup> speaks of five groups of gods representing cloud spirits of the skies, called *Valāhakāyikā*, whose existence is responsible for the changes of weather. They are—

1. *Sitavalāhakā* who represent the cloud-spirits of cold—When they wish to regale their bodies, the weather becomes cool.<sup>10</sup> They live in the *Cātummahārājika*-world.<sup>11</sup>

7. *Aṅguttaranikāya*, Vol. I, pp. 210, 227-28; Vol. III, p. 287; Vol. IV, pp. 119, 240ff.; *Dīghānikāya*, Vol. I, pp. 215-23; *Majjhimanikāya*, PTS, Vol. I, p. 289; Vol. III, pp. 100-03, 147.

8 See below, note 90.

9 Vol. III, pp. 254ff. Cf. *Milindapañha*, PTS, p. 191 (*Ghanikā*=cloud-spirits).

10 *Saṃyuttanikāya*, loc. cit.

11 *Vibhaṅga Commentary*, PTS, p. 519.

2. *Uḥhavalāhakā*. Being the dweller of the *Cātummahārājika*-world,<sup>12</sup> they represent the cloud-spirits of heat. When they want to get delight, the weather becomes hot.<sup>13</sup>

3. *Abbhavalāhakā* who are embodied in the thunder-clouds (cumulous clouds). When they desire enjoyment, thunder-clouds appear in the sky.<sup>14</sup>

4. *Vātavalāhakā* who represent the cloud-spirits of wind.

5. *Vassavalāhakā* who cause rain. Once one of the *Vāssavalāhakā Devā* went to visit an Arahant Thera in the Himālaya where he revealed himself and said that he had the power of causing rain. When the Elder wished to test his claim, the *Deva* sang a song, raised his hands, and rains began to fall in an area of three *yojanas*.<sup>15</sup>

Parjanya, the Vedic god of rain-cloud, is mentioned in Pali literature as Pajjuna. He causes rains. Whenever rains are wanted, prayer is offered to him. Sometimes Sakka commands him to pour down rain on the earth.<sup>16</sup> He is also influenced by the exercise of *saccakiriya* (protestation of truth).<sup>17</sup> When he comes, he is dressed in one cloud as an undergarment and another cloud as an outer garment and chants the rain-song. He appears in the east with thunder and lightning and causes

12 *Loc. cit.*

13 *Saṃyuttanikāya, loc. cit.*

14 *Loc. cit.*

15 This is one of the causes of rains; others are—the power of the Nāgas and Supannas, an act of truth, change of weather, power of Māra, and *iddhi*-power (Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, Vol. II, p. 848). The *Mahāsamaya Sutta* (*Dīghanikāya*, Vol. II, p. 259) mentions another class of gods as *Mandavalāhakā* (fragile cloud-spirits).

16 *Jātaka*, Vol. I, pp. 329-32. When no rain fell in Kosala for many days, the Buddha out of compassion for the living beings of the earth wanted to cause rain. At this the yellow-stone throne of Sakka grew hot, and he summoned the king of the storm-clouds (Pajjuna) to pour down rains over the entire kingdom of Kosala.

17 *Loc. cit.*

rain.<sup>18</sup> The *Saṃyuttanikāya Commentary*<sup>19</sup> says that, he is Vassavalāhaka and dwells in the Cātummahārājika-world.

Besides the seven principal groups of gods, mentioned above, the *Mahāsamaya Sutta*<sup>20</sup> speaks of some other classes. Of them, *Paṭhavi-devā*, *Āpo-devā*, *Tejo-devā* and *Vāyo-devā* are deifications of the four elements, earth, water, fire and air respectively. The *Jātakas*<sup>21</sup> contain references to the worship of the fire-god Aggideva or Aggi-bhagavā. He is also called Jāta-veda and Vessānara.

In the *Saṃyuttanikāya*,<sup>22</sup> the gods Candimā and Suriya represent respectively the Moon and the Sun. The Commentary on the *Aggañña Sutta*<sup>23</sup> describes the habitation and movement of these gods. The Sun lives in a palace of gold, which is covered outside with crystal, both hot, standing one *yojana* above the abode of the moon. In size, the sun is 50 *yojanas* in diameter and 150 *yojanas* in circumference.<sup>24</sup> The Moon-god Candimā lives in a palace of gem, called Canda, the moon, the outside of which is covered with silver, both cold. In size, the moon is 49 *yojanas* in diameter, and 147 *yojanas* in circumference.<sup>25</sup> The palace or *vimāna* (moon) cannot move without the permission of Candimā. Its movement can be stopped at his will.<sup>26</sup> Candimā is worshipped for getting children;<sup>27</sup>

18 *Loc. cit.*

19 Malalasekera, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

20 *Dīghanikāya*, Vol. II, pp. 253-62.

21 E.g., *Jātaka*, Vol. I, pp. 214, 494 ; Vol. III, p. 16 ; Vol. V, p. 452 ; Vol. VI, p. 201 ; etc.

22 Vol. I, p. 50.

23 *Dīghanikāya Commentary*, PTS, Vol. III, pp. 866ff.

24 Cf. *Vissuddhimagga*, Vol. I, p. 207 ; *Vinaya Piṭaka Commentary*, PTS, Vol. I, p. 119 ; *Suttanipāta Commentary*, PTS, Vol. II, p. 443 ; Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 20.

25 *Loc. cit.*

26 *Dhammapadatīhakathā*, PTS, Vol. II, pp. 143, 146 ; Vol. III, p. 97.

27 *Jātaka*, Vol. IV, p. 1.

but both Suriya and Candimā are subservient to Sakka who sometimes stopped their journey.<sup>28</sup>

Ādicca (Sanskrit *Āditya*) is mentioned in the *Dīghanikāya*.<sup>29</sup> According to Buddhaghosa, he was Aditi's son (*Ādityā putto*).<sup>30</sup> He is described as *tapataṃ mukhaṃ* (chief heat-producer) in the *Majjhimanikāya Commentary*.<sup>31</sup>

So far we see how natural phenomena have been personified and deified in Buddhist mythology. It has also been noted that this conception is already found in Sanskrit literature. Some other Vedic gods have also been found in the Pali works; but their characteristics are a little modified in conformity with the Buddhist conception. Most of the gods are the followers of the Buddha, and that is why they have been moral<sup>32</sup>.

28 E. g., when he wished the Sāmaṇeras, Paṇḍita and Sukha, to be able to meditate undisturbed (*Dhammapada Commentary*, Vol. II, p. 143; Vol. III, pp. 97, 208).

29 Vol. III, p. 196.

30 *Loc. cit.*; *Dīghanikāya Commentary*, Vol. III, p. 963. In the Vedic literature, Āditya was the son of Aditi (Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 30). The *Suttanipāṭa*, PTS, verse 423, states that Ādicca was also the *gotta*-name of the Sākyans. According to the *Vibhaṅga Commentary*, p. 466, Ādicca and Koṇḍañña were *gotta*-names of the Khattiyas. The *Vimānavatthu Commentary*, PTS, p. 116, says that Ādicca (the Sun) belong to the Gotama-gotta and, as the Buddha also belonged to the same *gotta*, he became the friend of Ādicca, so that he was always spoken of as Ādiccabandhu (*Dīghanikāya*, Vol. III, p. 197; *Suttanipāṭa*, verse 1128). In the same context, the Buddha is stated to have been born in the same *ariyā jāti* and is the descendant of the Sun or the Sun is the Buddha's *orasa-putta* (breast-born son) since he is a disciple of the Buddha. The *Samyuttanikāya*, Vol. I, p. 57, states that the Buddha speaks of the Sun as *mama pajā* which Buddhaghosa explains as disciple or spiritual son.

31 Malalasekera, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 245.

32 Sakka always helped good men in danger. As the *Dhammapada Commentary*, Vol. I, pp. 17f., says, when Cakkhupāla became blind, Sakka led him by hand and took him to Sāvattī. The *Jātakas* contain many instances where Sakka rescued the good people in distress; cf. the cases of Dhammadhaja, Guṭṭila, Kaccāni, Sambuḍā, Kusa, Mahājanaka's mother, Candakumāra's mother, Candā, Mahosadha, etc.

and are kind to good men whom they protect. For example, Sakka, the king of the Tāvatisa gods, was the guardian of moral law in the world. When *dharmma* is destroyed and people become unrighteous, Sakka comes down to the earth to save it by frightening them so that they may do good instead of evil. The *Mahākāṇḍha Jātaka*<sup>33</sup> says that Sakka, having changed Mātali into a black hound, and himself into a forester came to the kingdom of Usinara and the dog barked terrifying the people and devouring all the unrighteous persons. He was always on the side of the good against the wicked and helped the former to realise their goal. Instances of such activities of Sakka are found in the *Ambacora*, *Ayakūṭa*, *Udaya*, *Kaccāni*, *Kāma*, *Kāmanīta*, *Kumbha*, *Kelisīla*, *Kharaputta*, *Culla-dhamuggaha*, *Dhajaviheṭṭha*, *Bilārikōsiya*, *Maṇicorā*, *Vaka*, *Sarabhaṅga* and *Sudhābhajana Jātakas*. Sakka patronised good men and invited some such persons to his heaven, his chariot-er Mātali being sent to fetch them. Note the cases of Guṭṭila, Mandhātā, Sādhina and Nimi.

The Pali literature speaks of a few gods who are unkind to men and lead a man to evil lives.<sup>34</sup>

Sometimes gods take human and animal forms. The *Somanassa Jātaka*<sup>35</sup> says that some deities in human shape traversed the seven ranges of hills and reached the Himālaya. The *Vessantara Jātaka*<sup>36</sup> says that the gods took the form of red-deer and carried the chariot of the Buddha born as Vessantara, when he offered four horses of his chariot to four Brāhmaṇas.

<sup>33</sup> *Jātaka*, Vol. IV, pp. 280-86. The *Kelisīla Jātaka* (No. 202) says that, when the Bodhisatta was born as Sakka, he in the guise of an old man came on the earth and frightened a bad king by physical torture and by showing his *vaṭṭa*.

<sup>34</sup> E. g., see *Jātaka*, Vol. IV, pp. 11, 100-03.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 512.

Worship of certain tutelary gods, tree-gods, hill-gods and ocean-deities<sup>37</sup> are also mentioned in Buddhist literature. Of them, the *Bhumma*, *Rukkha* and *Vemāna*<sup>38</sup> classes are of lower grades.

Sometimes the Bodhisatta was born as tree-deities. He came once in the form of the divinity of a *tindūka* tree. Every year he received an offering worth a thousand pieces of money from a king of Northern Pañcāla. When the kingdom was going to be ruined for his unrighteous rule, the said divinity gave him a good advice.<sup>39</sup> The people worshipped the tree-deities for obtaining children.<sup>40</sup>

Tutelary gods are generally described as the guardian gods of kings on the earth. The *Cullakālāṅga Jātaka*<sup>41</sup> mentions two kinds of tutelary deities. The one for the conqueror appears in the shape of a white bull and the other for the defeated appears as a black bull. The *Cūlavamsa*<sup>42</sup> mentions Uppalavaṇṇa as the guardian god of Laṅkā and its people. This guardianship was given to him by Sakka.

The *Dīghanikāya*<sup>43</sup> and the *Paṭisambhidāmagga Commentary*<sup>44</sup> mention four great kings (*cattāro Mahārājāno*) who are the guardians of the four quarters of the world, namely, Dhataratṭha of the East, Virūhaka of the South, Virūpakkha of the West and Vessavaṇa or Kuvera of the North. Their retinues are, respectively, the Gandhabbas, Kumbhaṇḍas, Nāgas and

37 *Ibid.*, p. 135 ; Vol. IV, pp. 15-21.

38 Those who are reborn in heaven owing to good deeds done on the earth are generally entitled to dwell in *vimānas* (mansions).

39 *Jātaka*, Vol. V, p. 99. The *Majjhimanikāya Commentary* (PTS, Vol. II, p. 372) mentions *Vanadevatā* and *Rukkhadevatā*.

40 *Jātaka*, Vol. IV, p. 294.

41 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 5.

42 See Ch. 83, verse 49.

43 Vol. II, pp. 207f., 257-58 ; Vol. III, pp. 194f.

44 PTS, Vol. III, p. 613.



Yakkhas. They are the protectors<sup>45</sup> of the Buddha from the moment of his conception in his mother's womb, and the *Āṭṭhāṇāṭṭhiya Sutta* says that they protect not only the Buddha, but also his followers.<sup>46</sup>

Buddhist mythology speaks of different kinds of heavens which are divided into two worlds—(1) *Devaloka* and *Brahmaloka*. The gods living in the first are lower than those (Brahmās) who live in the second. The gods of the *Devaloka* are not free from desire. It is said<sup>47</sup> that the Nandana park of the *Tāvātimsa-devaloka* is the place of amusement for the gods. It is so called because it causes delight in the heart of all who visit it.<sup>48</sup> In the *Jātaka*,<sup>49</sup> it is mentioned that there is a *Nandanavana* in each *Devaloka*. The *Dhammapada Commentary*<sup>50</sup> and the *Aṅguttaranikāya*<sup>51</sup> state that the *Sayāṃpabhā* (self-radiant) class of *Devas* enjoy fivefold pleasures of the sense in the *Nandanavana* and become glad and contented.

The *Kakkāru Jātaka*<sup>52</sup> mentions some terrestrial deities, along with the four divine beings, who wear wreaths made of the heavenly *kakkāru* flowers and descended from the *Tāvātimsa*-world to attend a great festival at *Vārāṇasī*.

The gods have their respective dwelling places which are named according to their class-names.<sup>53</sup> Of these, those who

45 *Dīghanikāya*, Vol. II, pp. 257f.

46 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 194-204; *Dhammapada Commentary*, Vol. II, p. 146; Vol. III, p. 96.

47 *Na te sukhāṃ pajānanti ye na passanti Nandanāṃ /  
āvasāṃ naradevānaṃ tīdasānaṃ yasassināṃ=ti ||*  
(*Sāmyuttanikāya*, Vol. I, p. 5; Vol. V, p. 242).

48 *Jātaka*, Vol. V, p. 158.

49 *Sabba-devalokesu hi Nandanavanāṃ atthi yeva* (Vol. I, p. 49).

50 Vol. II, p. 266.

51 Vol. III, p. 40.

52 Vol. III, p. 58.

53 See above.

live in the sky and on the earth are conscious of the earth, and are subject to grief and lamentation like ordinary human beings, while the gods who are free from attachment are not subject to grief, but are conscious of it and have knowledge of the impermanence of things.<sup>54</sup>

The six classes of *Devas*, who have strong faith in the Buddha, Dhamma, and Saṅgha, claim to have acquired the stage of *sotāpanna* and are destined for the attainment of *sambodhi*. They are not, therefore, liable to fall into hell.<sup>55</sup> They, especially the *Cātummahārājika* and *Tāvatiṃsa* gods, take interest in the doings of men. They come to the earth to show reverence to good men.<sup>56</sup>

Though the gods possessing miraculous power can shake the earth,<sup>57</sup> they are not free from death. Their lease of life vary according to the merits they earn.<sup>58</sup>

However, the gods are born full of youth and free from illness till the moment of their death. They die for the following reasons—(1) exhaustion of life, merit or food ; (2) failing, through forgetfulness, to eat ; and (3) jealousy at the glory of another which leads to anger.<sup>59</sup> At the time of their death, five signs appear on them—(1) their clothes get soiled, (2) flowers worn by them fade, (3) sweat exudes from their armpits, (4) their bodies become colourless, and (5) they become restless on their seats.<sup>60</sup>

54 *Dīghanikāya*, Vol. II, pp. 139-40.

55 *Aṅguttaranikāya*, Vol. III, p. 333.

56 *Khuddakapāṭha Commentary*, pp. 120-22.

57 *Dīghanikāya*, Vol. II, p. 108.

58. E. g., *Aṅguttaranikāya*, Vol. I, pp. 213-14 ; Vol. IV, pp. 252-54 ; *Vibhaṅga*, pp. 422-23 ; *Kathāvatthu*, pp. 207-08 ; *Dīghanikāya Commentary*, Vol. II, pp. 472, 647 ; *Compendium of Philosophy*, PTS ed., pp. 140-41 ; *Dhammapada Commentary*, Vol. VI, p. 364 ; also see below.

59 *Dhammapada Commentary*, Vol. VI, p. 173.

60 *Dīghanikāya Commentary*, Vol. VII, pp. 427f.

The number of personal gods, most of whom hold particular offices, is limited. Besides, many sons of gods are mentioned;<sup>61</sup> but the names and offices of all of them are not known. However, it is evident that the gods are not immortal, though the offices held by them remain even after their death. These are managed by other gods who are born in heavens owing to good deeds done on the earth. For instance, *Sakka* indicates the rank or position of the king of *Tāvātimsa*-gods and is not a personal name. Whoever comes to the *Tāvātimsa* to rule over it will be called Sakka. As the universe consists of many *cakkavālas*<sup>62</sup> and there is a *Tāvātimsa-devaloka* in each *cakkavāla* and each *Tāvātimsa* is ruled by a Sakka, the number of Sakkas (i. e. the kings of the *Tāvātimsa-devalokas*) is many. Besides, there are many Sakkas in each *cakkavāla* within a world-cycle (i. e. the life-term of a single world-system or *cakkavāla*). The *Anguttaranikāya*<sup>63</sup> states that the Buddha, the Exalted One, became Sakka, king of the gods, for thirty-six times. The *Mandhātā Jātaka*<sup>64</sup> tells a story that king Mandhātā went to the *Tāvātimsa-devaloka*, where he was received by the then Sakka and given a half share to rule over the *Tāvātimsa*-gods for the life-term of 36 Sakkas. The *Sādhina Jātaka*<sup>65</sup> says that as Sādhina, the king of Mithilā, kept fast-day vows, he was given the half share of *Tāvātimsa* and ruled there as a co-ruler.

61 E. g., *Jātaka*, Vol. VI, p. 484, where it is said that sixty thousand sons of the gods were destined to rebirth and descended on the earth with the birth of the Buddha as Vessantara.

62 *Visuddhimagga*, Vol. I, p. 207; *Vinaya Commentary*, Vol. I, p. 120; *Suttanipāta Commentary*, Vol. IV, p. 443.

63 Vol. IV, p. 89 (*chattimsakkhattum kho panāham ..... Sakko ahoṣim devānaṃ indo*); *Jātaka*, Vol. IV, p. 180, where it is said that the Buddha, in a previous birth, was Sakka who came in disguise to the kingdom of Usinara to frighten the unrighteous people.

64 *Jātaka*, Vol. II, p. 312.

65 *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 357.

for 700 heavenly years. The *Sudhābhojana Jātaka*<sup>66</sup> says that a wealthy man of Vārāṇasī was reborn as Sakka because he had given away his wealth. It is interesting to note, in this connection, that sometimes Sakka sent nymphs to the earth for destroying the virtue of men because the meritorious people may make his position as Sakka insecure by the power of their virtue. The *Alambusā Jātaka*<sup>67</sup> says that Alambusā, a lovely nymph, was sent to destroy the virtue of Isisīṅga who was dwelling in the Himālaya region with all his senses subdued. Thus it is found that, whereas Indra called Śakra, in Brāhmaṇical literature, is one person and the ruler of all the *Devas*, Sakka in Pali literature is not one and does not rule over all the *Devas* of different heavenly worlds.<sup>68</sup>

As Sakka enjoyed a particular status, Candimā and Suriya are also associated with positions or posts which could be occupied after their death by others doing good work.<sup>69</sup> The *Bilārikosiya Jātaka*<sup>70</sup> says that a wealthy man, having once given alms, became the Moon-god. The *Sudhābhojana Jātaka*<sup>71</sup> says that Moggallāna was also reborn as Candimā.

Goddesses are rarely mentioned in Pali literature. Only two individual goddesses, namely Lakkhī<sup>72</sup> and Maṇimekhalā<sup>73</sup>.

66 *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 383; cf. Vol. IV, p. 63; also Vol. I, pp. 349-54.

67 *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 152. [Similar stories are known from Brāhmaṇical literature.—Ed.]

68 The *Saṃyuttanikāya*, Vol. I, pp. 228-31, says that one can acquire the position of Sakka if he observes the seven vows (*vatapadāni*) on the earth, viz., to maintain his parents, to revere his elders, to utter no slander, to be free from avarice, inclination to generous donations, open-handed liberality and kindness, to speak the truth, and to be free from anger.

69 *Jātaka*, Vol. IV, pp. 63, 69.

70 *Loc. cit.*

71 *Ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 386, 412.

72 J. R. Haldar in *Foreigners in Ancient India and Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī in Art and Literature*, ed. D. C. Sircar, pp. 142-47.

73 *Jātaka*, Vol. VI, p. 135; Vol. IV, pp. 15-21.

hold some offices. The Buddhist works speak of many daughters of the gods, most of whom belong to the *Tāvātimsa-devaloka* which they occupy for their meritorious deeds done on the earth. The *Jātakas*<sup>74</sup> state that they sometimes fall in love with men. Though the Mother goddess is not found in Buddhist conception, the Pali literature mentions *Caṇḍī*, the Mother goddess of Brāhmaṇical literature, who is treated here as a deity of bad temper and is called *Alakkhi*.<sup>75</sup>

*Maṇimekhalā*, the goddess of ocean, protected virtuous people who suffered from shipwreck. On the other hand, *Lakkhi*, the goddess of beauty and fortune, possesses wisdom and is regarded as the goddess of wisdom like *Sarasvatī*, the goddess of learning, wisdom, etc., of the Brāhmaṇical literature. She is also considered a supreme goddess because she is the symbol of earned merit which enables one to get supreme knowledge.<sup>76</sup> This conception tends to become eventually that of the female principle of the *Ādi-Buddha* in later *Mahāyāna* Buddhism.<sup>77</sup>

As mentioned above, the *Brahmakāyikā* gods are higher than the gods of the *Devaloka*. They, according to their merit produced from different kinds of *jhāna*, occupy different *Brahmalokas*. The Buddhist *Brahmaloka* (Brahma-world) mentioned in Pali literature is quite different from that of the Brāhmaṇical literature. The conception of *Brahmā* as the creator of the universe<sup>78</sup> and the philosophical idea of one's union with *Brahmā* for the highest good, was discarded by the Buddha. He speaks of many *Brahmās*; but none of them

74 *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 110; Vol. II, pp. 30, 176.

75 *Jātaka*, Vol. IV, p. 378.

76 J. R. Haldar, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

77 Alice Getty, *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, p. 3.

78 E. g., *Dighanikāya*, Vol. I, p. 13 (where *Brahmā* is described as *vasavatti issaro kattā nimmāta*, etc.); cf. Vol. III, p. 28.

is regarded as the highest being in creation.<sup>79</sup> According to him, the union with Brahmā meant association with him in his world,<sup>80</sup> and this sort of union is not the highest good.<sup>81</sup>

Unlike the gods of the Devā-world the denizens of the Brahma-world<sup>82</sup> are free from sensual desires.<sup>83</sup> No woman is found in the *Brahmaloka*.<sup>84</sup> But developing *jhāna* on the earth, women can be born among the *Brahmapārisajjā*,<sup>85</sup> the lowest denizens of the nine ordinary *Brahmalokas*.

According to the *Majjhimanikāya*<sup>86</sup> and the *Visuddhimagga*,<sup>87</sup> those who give up their attachments to sense-desires and meditate on *mettā* (love), *karuṇā* (pity), *muditā* (sympathy) and *upekkhā* (equanimity) are reborn in the Brahma-world. According to the Jātakas, the Bodhisattas practised meditation and consequently were born in the said world.<sup>88</sup>

79 See, however, *Aṅguttaranikāya*, Vol. V, pp. 59f., where Mahābrahmā is spoken of as the highest denizen of the *Sahassalokadhātu* (*yāvat sahas-salokadhātu*, *Mahābrahmā tattha aggāṃ akkhāyati*); but he, too, is impermanent (*Mahābrahmāno pi atthi eva aññathattaṃ, atthi viparināmo*).

80 The denizens of *Brahmaloka* are called *Brahmakāyikā* (see above); *Aṅguttaranikāya*, Vol. I, p. 210; this term, according to the *Paṭisambhīdāmagga Commentary*, Vol. III, p. 613, is applied to those beings who are ready to live with Brahmā (*Brahmakāya Brahmaghaṭṭāya niyuttā ti Brahmakāyikā*).

81 E.g., see *Aṅguttaranikāya*, Vol. V, pp. 59f. It lies in the attainment of *nibbāna* (J. R. Haldar, in *JAIH*, Vol. III, p. 108).

82 This has been regarded as the highest of the celestial worlds. It consists of twenty heavens (*Majjhimanikāya*, Vol. I, p. 289; *Compendium of Philosophy*, Oxford, p. 142; *Vibhaṅga*, pp. 422-26). These are divided into two classes—(1) *Rūpaloka* (the material world) and (2) *Arūpaloka* (the immaterial world). Only four heavens belong to the second group and they are regarded as higher than the material worlds.

83. *Vibhaṅga Commentary*, p. 437; see *Jātaka*, Vol. IV, p. 378, where *Dutthamaṅgalikā* is spoken of as Mahābrahmabhariyā; thus this Jātaka may suggest that the Mahābrahmās have wives.

84 *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, Vol. I, p. 270.

85 *Vibhaṅga Commentary*, pp. 437f.

86 PTS, Vol. II, pp. 194-95.

87 See pp. 199-200, 415. Cf. *Journ. Pali Text Soc.*, 1884, p. 160.

88 E.g. *Jātaka*, Vol. II, pp. 43, 69, 90, etc.

The sole food <sup>89</sup> of the Brahmās is trance which is full of bliss (*sappītikajjhāna*). In accordance with the practices of *jhāna*, they belong to different grades. We have mentioned above twenty classes of Brahmā, of whom the first 16 classes are Rūpa-Brahmās and the rest Arūpa-Brahmās.<sup>90</sup> Those of the first category belong to four kinds of *jhāna*.<sup>91</sup> Brahmās of the first *jhāna* are:—(1) Brahmāpārisajjā, (2) Brahmāpurohitā, and (3) Mahābrahmā. They are different in body, but uniform in intelligence. Those who practise the second *jhāna* possess different kinds of lustre. They are—(4) Parittābhā (Brahmās of minor lustre), (5) Appamāṇābhā (those of infinite lustre), and (6) Ābhassarā (radiant Brahmās). Brahmās of the third trance are of different grades of beauty—(7) Parittasubhā (Brahmās of minor beauty), (8) Appamāṇasubhā (those of immeasurable beauty) and (9) Subhakiṇhā (those of complete beauty). The fourth trance produces the following Brahmās—(10) Vehapphalā (Brahmās of great reward), (11) Asaññasattā (unconscious beings), (12) Aviḥā (the immobile beings), (13) Atappā (the serene beings), (14) Sudassā (the beautiful beings), (15) Sudassī (beings who have clear sight), and (16) Akaniṭṭhā (the supreme beings). Of these, 12 to 16 are of pure abode (*Suddhāvāsakāyikā Devā*).

The Arūpa-Brahmās, higher than the Rūpa-Brahmās, are of the following grades. Ākāśānañcāyatana-Brahmās belong to the sphere of the conception of infinite space, Viññānañcāyatana to infinite consciousness, Ākiñcaṇṇāyatana to nothingness and Nevasaññānāsaññāyatana to the conception of neither consciousness nor unconsciousness.

<sup>89</sup> *Sāmyuttanikāya Commentary*, Vol. I, p. 161. See *ibid.*, pp. 158f., where Mahābrahmā is said to be invited to partake of food and drinks, but not of sacrifices (*Malalasekera, op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 336).

<sup>90</sup> E. g. *Majjhimanikāya*, Vol. I, p. 289.

<sup>91</sup> *Vibhaṅga*, PTS, pp. 424-25 ; *Compendium of Philosophy*, p. 139.

I have elsewhere<sup>92</sup> discussed how, according to the Pali works, spheres from the Vehapphala to Nevasaññānāsaññāyātana are not under the cycles of destruction and renovation. But the Brahmās of these worlds enjoy different terms of life.<sup>93</sup> This suggests that, though these worlds are never destroyed, the denizens are not immortal.

The Brahmās are the followers of the Buddha. The *Vinaya Commentary*<sup>94</sup> mentions a Mahābrahmā who was a *khīṇāsava*. Names of the Pacceka-Brahmās<sup>95</sup> are found in the texts. Of them, Subrahmā and Suddhāvāsa went to see the Buddha. When they saw that the Buddha was in meditation, they went to visit another Brahmā, who was infatuated with his own power and glory, and challenged him to the performance of miracles; they excelled him and converted him to the faith of the Buddha.<sup>96</sup> The designation *Pacceka-Brahmā* was apparently coined after *Pacceka-Buddha*.

The texts represent Brahmās as visiting the earth and taking an interest in human affairs. Thus, to dispel the heresies of king Aṅgati,<sup>97</sup> Nārada, the great Brahmā, descends from the Brahma-world. When the Buddha hesitates to preach his doctrine, because of its profundity, Sahampati requests him to preach it for the welfare of the world.<sup>98</sup> Illuminating Jeta-

92 JAIH, Vol. III, p. 109, note 11.

93 Vehapphala and Asaññasatta *Devas* enjoy 500 *kappas*, Avihā 1,000, Atappā 2,000, Sudasā 4,000, Sudasā 8,000, Akaniṭṭhā 16,000, Ākāṇasācāyatana Brahmās 20,000, Viññāṇāyātana 40,000, Ākāṇasācāyatana 60,000 and Nevasaññānāsaññāyatanapaga 80,000 *kappas*. Cf., e.g., *Vibhaṅga*, pp. 425-26; *Aṅguttaranikāya*, Vol. I, p. 267; Vol. II, pp. 128-29; *Compendium of Philosophy*, pp. 142-43; *Dighanikāya Commentary*, PTS, Vol. III, p. 740; *Kathāvatthu*, PTS, p. 208.

94 PTS, Vol. I, p. 131.

95 *Sāmyuttanikāya*, Vol. I, pp. 146ff.

96 *Loc. cit.*

97 *Jāṭaka*, Vol. VI, pp. 242f.

98 E.g., *Dighanikāya*, Vol. II, p. 36; also *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol. II, p. 30, note 4.



vana with the effulgence of his body, Sahampati visited the Buddha on several occasions. It is said that a whole *Cakka-vāla*<sup>99</sup> could be illuminated by only one of his fingers.

The Brahmās are also represented as visiting the *deva*-worlds. Sanaṅkumāra, assuming the form of Pañcasikha,<sup>100</sup> was present at an assembly of the Tāvātimsa gods, where he praised the Buddha and referred to his teachings.

As said above, all types of gods are inferior to the Buddha. Their supremacy is not found in the early Buddhist mythology. We shall see whether there is any characteristic of supremacy in the Buddha. He is superior to all beings, human and divine, by his knowledge of the Truth (Dhamma). The difference between the gods and the Buddha lies in the fact that the gods rule over their respective worlds whereas the Buddha rules over the whole universe. *Buddha* is not a proper, but a generic, name or an appellative applied to a being who has attained Enlightenment.

The Buddha is the embodiment of knowledge. He appears on the earth when knowledge is necessary for human and divine life. He is not born in the early period of a *kappa* when people live longer than one hundred thousand years because, during this period, they are not able to recognise the nature of old age and death and therefore are not benefited by his preaching. He is born on the earth when men live not less than one hundred years and not more than ten thousand.<sup>101</sup> The Buddha may be regarded as an *avatāra*, and the *Purāṇas*<sup>102</sup> actually speak of him as one of the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu, the supreme Brāhmanical god. In the Brāhmanical

99 *Saṃyuttanikāya Commentary*, Vol. I, p. 158 (Malalasekera, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 338, note 26).

100 *Dīghanikāya op. cit.*, pp. 211ff

101 *Buddhavaṃsa Commentary*, PTS, pp. 158f

102 A. B. Keith and A. J. Carnoy, *The Mythology of All Races*, Vol. VI, p. 168.

literature, both Nārāyaṇa and the Buddha possess 32 marks of the Great Man.<sup>103</sup>

Even though the Buddhist doctrine is based upon the theory of *kamma*, and a man gets rewards or his prayer is granted according to his meritorious deeds, there is a belief mentioned in the *Saṃyuttanikāya*<sup>104</sup> that those who take refuge unto the feet of the Buddha are released from danger. Thus the gods Cand.mā and Suriya, being seized by Rāhu, prayed to the Buddha for protection and the latter commanded Rāhu to release them. Rāhu, though he is a chief of the *asuras*, obeyed because he was afraid of the Buddha. This fact shows that the Buddha is not only a preacher of the Truth, but is also a supreme authority controlling the universe and protecting the good from danger.

Pali literature does not mention a creator-god ; but it gives some characteristics of Supreme God to the Buddha. He is omnipresent, omnipotent and omniscient. No evil power defeats him. Like the supreme god of Brāhmanical literature, the Buddha commands over all. He is 'world-knower' (*loka-vidū*).<sup>105</sup> The *ñāna* is one of his four illimitables. He uses one of the three ways for converting people, i. e. by exhibition of miraculous powers (*iddhipāṭihāriya*), by reading their thoughts (*ādesanapāṭihāriya*), or teaching them what is beneficial to them according to their character and temperament (*anusāsantī pāṭihāriya*), the last method being used frequently.<sup>106</sup> He can see everything by means of the radiance of his body.

The Buddha possesses ten powers consisting of perfect

103 *Loc. cit.*

104 Vol. I, pp. 50-51 ; cf. A. B. Keith and A. J. Carnoy, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

105 T. O. Li g, *Buddhism and its Mythology of Evils*, p. 116. This epithet was applied also to the Arahant according to the *Saṃyuttanikāya* Vol. I, p. 62 ; Vol. V, pp. 197, 343.

106 *Buddhavaṃsa Commentary*, p. 34.

comprehension in the ten fields of knowledge.<sup>107</sup> He can digest the food of the *devas* or which contains the *ojā* put into it by the *devas*.<sup>108</sup> He defeats Māra's forces and attains to supreme perfection in all knowledge and virtue at the foot of the Bodhi tree.<sup>109</sup> The *Suttanipāta Commentary*<sup>110</sup> says that the Buddha has the power of love which is so great that no evil action shows its results in his presence. He loves men and prefers to accept the offer of food by poor men.<sup>111</sup>

The *Buddhavaṃsa Commentary*<sup>112</sup> says that the Buddha is immune from the four dangers— 'no misfortune can befall the four requisites intended for a Buddha ; no one can encompass his death ; no injury can befall any of his thirty-two *Mahāpurīsalakkhaṇā* or eighty *anuvyañjanā* ; nothing obstructs his aura'.

All these characteristics of the Buddha remind us of the Supreme God of the Brāhmaṇical literature. He is like the Absolute of the Upaniṣads, possessing all the characteristics of the Supreme God except one, i. e. the power of creation. Besides, in the *Dīghanikāya*,<sup>113</sup> the Buddha himself announces his supremacy over the world by roaring 'the lion's roar'.

107 *Āṅguttaranikāya*, Vol. V, p. 33 ; *Majjhimanikāya*, Vol. I, p. 69 ; etc.

108 *Suttanipāta Commentary*, Vol. I, p. 154.

109 Malalasekera, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 297.

110 Vol. II, p. 475.

111 *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, Vol. II, p. 135.

112 See p. 248.

113 Vol. II, p. 15 (*aggo* = 'haṃ asmi lokassa, *jetṭho* = 'haṃ asmi lokassa, *seṭṭho* = 'haṃ asmi lokassa, *ayaṃ antimā jāti, natthi dāni puṇabbhavo*).

## THE STORY OF SAMUDRAMANTHANA

Sm. BANDANA CHATTERJI

Samudramanthana or the Churning of Ocean is a legend of great importance, and almost all the writers of Sanskrit literature were fully acquainted with it. None of them, however, has narrated the story in full. From the literary references available to us, we obtain the following points in respect of the legend : (1) The ocean was churned by the Devas and the Asuras.<sup>1</sup> (2) The churning of the ocean was done by using Mount Mandara as the churning stick and the serpent Vāsuki as the churning rope.<sup>2</sup> (3) During the churning, Viṣṇu supported the Mandara mountain on his back in the form of a Kṛma or tortoise.<sup>3</sup> (4) From the churned ocean came out

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1 *Ūrubhaṅga* (*Ūru*) in *Bhāsanāṭakacakra*, ed. Devadhar, Poona (1962), 29; *Kumārasambhava* in *Kālidāsa Granthāvali*, ed. Caturvedi, Aligarh (Safvat 2019), 8.23; *Kirātārjunīya* (*Kirāt*), Chowkhamba, Benares (1961), 5.30; *Bhāṭikāvya* (*Bhāṭi*), ed. Śeṣarāja Sharma Shastri, Benares (1952), 10.59; *Harṣacarita* (*Harṣa*), ed. P. V. Kane, Delhi, 1965, Ch. 4 (p. 11, 1.27; p. 17, 1.4); *Kādambarī* (*Kād.*), ed. K. P. Parab, Bombay (1948), I, p. 123, 1.4; p. 177, 1.5; p. 311, 1.2.

2 *Ūru*, 29; *Raghuvamśa* (*Ragh.*), ed. Siddhantavagisa, Nakipur (1330 B. S.), 4.27; *Śiṣupālavadha* (*Śiṣ.*), ed. Kak and Shastri, Srinagar (1935), 20.56; *Kirāt*, 5.30; 9.28; *Jānakīharṇa* (*Jān.*), ed. Shri Krishna Dasa, Allahabad (1966), 2.10; 18.46; *Harṣa*, Ch. 1 (p. 10, 1.1), Ch. 3 (p. 44, 1.26; p. 51, 1.8); Ch. 6 (p. 45, 1.4); *Kād.* I, p. 110, 1.3; p. 113, 1.1; p. 128, 1.5; p. 158, 1.3; p. 226, 1.6; p. 415, 1.1; p. 415, 1.2; p. 466, 1.4; *Daśakumāracarita* (*Daś.*), Nirṇayasāgara, Bombay (1951), 1.1 (p. 2, 1.4); *Vāsavadattā* (*Vās.*), Chowkhamba, Benares, 1954, p. 21, 11.1, 3; p. 236, 1.4; *Anargharāghava* (*Anargh.*), ed. Premachandra Tarkavagisa, Calcutta, Śaka 1782, Act 1, p. 13; Act 7, pp. 200, 201; *Sūryaśataka* (*Sūr.*), Nirṇayasāgara, Bombay (1927), 72; *Naiṣadhacarita* (*Nai.*), Nirṇayasāgara (1952), 4.51; 11.62; 1.1(8).

3 *Nṛsiṅgataka* (*Nṛsi.*), ed. D. D. Kosambi, Bombay (1946), 68; *Anargh.*, Act 7, pp. 15, 200.

several articles considered as precious, of which Vāruṇī (the goddess of wine)<sup>4</sup>, Lakṣmī (the goddess of beauty and prosperity),<sup>5</sup> Kaustubha (a precious stone),<sup>6</sup> Kālakūṭa (poison),<sup>7</sup> Kalpavṛkṣa (or Pārijāta tree),<sup>8</sup> the horse Uccaiṣravas,<sup>9</sup> the Moon,<sup>10</sup> the Apsarases,<sup>11</sup> the elephant Airāvata,<sup>12</sup> Dhanvantari (the divine physician),<sup>13</sup> and Amṛta (nectar)<sup>14</sup> are mentioned in early Sanskrit Kāvya. (5) Śiva swallowed the dreadful poison, Kālakūṭa, and placed the Moon on his head.<sup>15</sup> (6) Nārāyaṇa accepted Lakṣmī as his consort<sup>16</sup> and the jewel

4 *Harṣa.*, Ch. 2 (p. 34, 1.1); *Kād.*, I (p. 41, 1.1; p. 225, 1.5).

5 *Ragh.*, 16.79; *Bhaṭṭi.*, 10.59; *Harṣa.*, Ch. 1 (p. 9, 1.13), Ch. 2 (p. 32, 1.19; p. 33, 1.29; p. 35, 1.10), Ch. 4 (p. 1, 1.6; p. 6, 1.9; p. 11, 1.1), Ch. 5 (p. 28, 1.36), Ch. 6 (p. 45, 1.23), Ch. 7 (p. 56, 1.17; p. 63, 1.22); *Kād.*, I (p. 8, 1.2; p. 228, 1.6; p. 418, 1.6); *Nai.*, 2.19; 6.80; 10.115; *Sūr.*, 43; *Anargh.*, Act 7, pp. 190, 201, 236.

6 *Harṣa.*, Ch. 2 (p. 33, 1.29); Ch. 4 (p. 17, 1.4); *Kād.*, I (p. 225, 1.5); *Nai.*, 21.106; *Mahāvīracarita (Mahā.)*, ed. Ratnam Aiyar and Rangacharya (Śaka 1832), 1.23; *Sūr.*, 43; *Anargh.*, Act 7, pp. 190, 236.

7 *Kād.*, I (p. 225, 1.5); *Nai.*, 1.113; *Veṇīśaṁhāra*, ed. G. V. Devasthali, Nasik (1953), 6.9; *Nūt.*, 71.

8 *Ragh.*, 16.79; *Anargh.*, Act 7, p. 190; *Harṣa.*, Ch. 2 (p. 34, 1.1), Ch. 4 (p. 17, 1.4); *Kād.*, I, p. 41, 1.1; p. 225, 1.5; p. 311, 1.2.

9 *Nai.*, 1.64; 16.25; 1.109; *Kād.*, I (p. 177, 1.7; p. 225, 1.5; p. 177, 1.5).

10 *Ragh.*, 1.12; 13.4; *Śīf.*, 11.8; *Kirāt.*, 9.28; *Bhaṭṭi.*, 10.59; *Harṣa.*, Ch. 7 (p. 62, 1.13), Ch. 4 (p. 17, 1.4); *Kād.*, I (p. 225, 1.5; p. 415, 1.2; p. 5, verse, 13); *Nāgānanda*, ed. Toraskar and Deshpande, Bombay, 1953, Act 2, p. 56; *Nai.*, 1.8; 1.64; 1.113; 4.48, 51, 60; 11.62; 21.106; 22.133; *Jan.*, 2.11; *Mahā.*, 1.23; *Anargh.*, Act 2, p. 54; *Pañcatantra*, ed. Shyamacharana Pandeya, Delhi (1967), Mitrabhedha, p. 103.

11 *Kād.*, I (p. 370, 1.5).

12 *Nai.*, 1.108.

13 *Harṣa.*, Ch. 5 (p. 27, 1.5); *Anargh.*, Act 7, p. 190.

14 *Bhaṭṭi.*, 2.39; *Kād.*, I (p. 228, 1.6); *Harṣa.*, Ch. 2 (p. 34, 1.1); *Nai.*, 8.30; 20.22; *Nūt.*, 71; *Vās.*, p. 217, 1.3.

15 *Kād.*, I, p. 235, 1.5; *Vās.*, p. 19, 1.1; *Nai.*, 4.48, 50; 16.30; 18.34; 22.83; 22.117; *Sūr.*, 42.

16 *Harṣa.*, Ch. 3 (p. 40, 1.24); *Anargh.*, Act 7, p. 236.

Kaustubha was taken by him as a decoration for his breast. (7) The gods drank the nectar<sup>17</sup> which Viṣṇu distributed among them by assuming a charming feminine form to deceive the demons.<sup>18</sup> (8) Nārāyaṇa, by means of his Sudarśana-cakra, cut off the head of the demon Rāhu who was about to drink the nectar in the guise of a god.<sup>19</sup> A few literary references are also available, in which the story of the churning of ocean is just mentioned.<sup>20</sup>

The oldest extant version of the legend of Samudraman-thana is found in the *Rāmāyaṇa*<sup>21</sup> and the *Mahābhārata*.<sup>22</sup> According to the *Mahābhārata*, the story is as follows. Once the gods, being eager to gain Amṛta, assembled on the peak of Mount Mandara or Meru which was bedecked with gold and was rich with divine herbs and various kinds of creepers and was the resort of the Devas, Gandharvas and Apsarases. Finding the gods in a pensive mood, Nārāyaṇa asked Brahman to churn the ocean with the help of the gods and the Asuras (cf. *devair - asura-saṁghaiḥ - ca mathyatām kalāś-odadhiḥ*). In order to make Mount Mandara the churning rod, the gods wanted to uproot it, but failed. So they approached Viṣṇu, who was found seated near Brahman, and appealed to both of them to help them. Viṣṇu then asked the serpent Ananta to help. After the mountain had been uprooted by Ananta, the gods came with the serpent and the mountain to the sea-shore and asked permission of the ocean for churning its waters. This they received on the condition that they would give it a

17 *Nal.*, 4.62.

18 *Kād.*, I, p. 21, l.2.

19 *S'is.*, 20.78 ; 14.78 , *Kād.*, I (p. 4, verse 7).

20 *Bālacarita* in *Bhāsanāṭakacakra*, *op. cit.*, 1.22 ; *Nal.*, 11.103 ; 12.74 ; 22.43 ; *Harṣa.*, Ch. 3 (p. 43, l.10), Ch. 4 (p. 7, l.30) ; *Kād.*, I, p. 62, l.6 ; p. 115, l.4 ; p. 385, l.6 ; and so on.

21 *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Rām.*), Baroda, 1.44. 14-27.

22 *Mahābhārata* (*Mbh.*), Poona, 1.15.5-13 ; 16.1-40 ; 17.1-30.

share of the nectar which they would obtain. At the request of the gods, the king of tortoises agreed to hold the mountain on his back. Indra then placed the Mandara on his back. With the Mandara as churning staff and Ananta as cord, the gods began to churn the ocean with the help of the Asuras, Dānavas and Nāga kings. The latter held the head of the serpent, whereas the former stood by its tail. In the course of churning, masses of black vapour and flames emitted from its mouth, and these turned into clouds with lightning and refreshed the tired gods with showers. From the top of the rotating mountain, heaps of flowers fell down upon the gods and demons. A noise resembling the rumbling of the clouds arose from the ocean. Various kinds of aquatic animals were crushed by the moving mountain, and trees fell from its top into the waters along with the birds residing on them. A fire broke out due to the friction between the trees, and the said birds were burnt to ashes. The fire was extinguished by Indra by showers of rain. Various trees and medicinal herbs fell down from the mountain into the ocean and their fluids, having the properties of Amṛta, mingled with the waters together with the essence of gold. Mixed with various juices, the waters changed into milk from which came out *ghṛta*. The exhausted gods then went to Brahman and informed him that they would not be able to get nectar without Nārāyaṇa's help. At Brahman's request, Viṣṇu gave them strength so that they might churn the ocean further. When the gods recommenced churning, there came out from the ocean first the brilliant Soma or the Moon, and then, one after another, the white-garmented Lakṣmī, the goddess Surā, the white horse and the gem Kaustubha. The shining Kaustubha went to the chest of Nārāyaṇa and the goddess Lakṣmī together with the goddess Surā, the Moon and the horse went to the abode of the gods by the path of the Sun. Then Dhanvantari arose with a white

pitcher full of Amṛta in his hand. The Dānavas wanted to have it for themselves. In order to deceive them, Nārāyaṇa approached them in the form of a beautiful damsel. They were charmed with her beauty and did not hesitate to give Amṛta to her. On realising their foolishness, they attacked the gods. But Viṣṇu, disguised as a female and accompanied by Nara, managed to take away the nectar from them and give it to the gods who drank it. The demon Rāhu also began to drink the nectar in the guise of a god. But the Sun and Moon recognised him and informed Viṣṇu who at once cut off his head with his Sudarśana when the nectar had just reached his throat. Then the head of Rāhu, fell down on the ground like the peak of a mountain. Even to this day, Rāhu swallows the Sun and Moon during the solar and the lunar eclipse respectively. Then Nārāyaṇa gave up his female form and began to fight with the Dānavas in the fierce battle on the sea-shore between the gods and the demons over the nectar. The gods, after their victory in the battle, put Mount Mandara at its own place and left for their abode.

There are some variations of this story in different editions of the *Mahābhārata*. Thus, in the southern recension,<sup>23</sup> it is said that among the various gems that arose from the churning, *viṣa* or poison was the first and Śiva drank it for the safety of the world at the request of Brahman. Thereafter came out the goddess Jyeṣṭhā who wore a black garment and was decorated with various kinds of ornaments. Some editions<sup>24</sup> include among the gems the Pārijāta tree, the cow Surabhi and the elephant Airāvata, and also state that the poison Kālakūṭa, giving out dense smoke, enveloped the world and burnt it and, at

23 *Mbh.*, ed. P. P. S. Sastri, Madras, 1931, 1.13.19-26, 45-46, 50-52.

24 *Mbh.* (Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1839), 1.18 ; p.42 ; cf. Gī.ā Press ed., Gorakhpur, Vikrama 2013 (1.18.40-43) in which the verse mentioning Pārijāta and Surabhi is stated to be spurious.



Brahman's entreaty, Śiva swallowed it for the safety of creation and held it in his throat and was therefore called Nilakaṇṭha (one with blue throat). But all these verses are spurious according to the Poona edition.<sup>25</sup> However, as this edition is prepared after consulting early manuscripts, our study should be based on it.

The story occurs with some variations in a number of the Purāṇas<sup>26</sup> as well as in the *Rāmāyaṇa*<sup>27</sup> and the *Harivaṃśa*.<sup>28</sup> The story as found in the *Matsya Purāṇa* closely resembles that in the *Mahābhārata*. Among the Purāṇas, the *Brahma*, *Brahma-vaivarta*, *Garuḍa*, *Kālikā* and *Devībhāgavata* give the story in short.

The critical Baroda edition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* refers neither to the poison Halāhala nor to Viṣṇu's assumption of the form of a tortoise for bearing Mt. Mandara on his back and the distribution of Amṛta among the gods in the guise of a female. The episodes, found in the other editions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*,

25 The passage *prāgrasat-loka-rakṣ-ārtham* *Brahmaṇo vacanāc-Chīvaḥ* is not mentioned even as spurious.

26 *Matsya* (*Mat.*), V. āṅgā. 1 (V. āṅga.) Press, Calcutta, 47; 2. 9; 250; 251; *Agni* (*Ag.*), V. āṅga., 3; 276. 10-16; *Brahma*, V. āṅga., 106. 2. 10; *Brahma-vaivarta* (*Brahma-vaiv.*), V. āṅga., Prakṛti-kh., 38. 55-60; *Viṣṇu* (*Viṣ.*), V. āṅga., 1. 9. 31-108; *Vāyu* (*Vā.*), V. āṅga., 54. 49-94; *Bhāgavata* (*Bhāg.*), Nimbārkaśrama Press, Calcutta, 1. 3. 16-17; 8. 5. 9-10; 8. 6; 8. 7; 8. 8; 8. 9; *Padma* (*Pad.*), V. āṅga., Sṛṣṭi-kh., 4; Bhūmi-kh., 119. 5-8; Svarga-kh., 41; *Brahma*-kh., 8-10; Uttara-kh., 231-32; *Skanda*, V. āṅga., Kāśī-kh., 1. 9. 3; 1. 50. 15-17; *Prabhāsa*-kh., *Prabhāsa-kṣetra*, 18. 12-16; 51. 8-10; 81. 23-24; *Vastrāpathakṣetra*, 17. 29-53; *Caturastulīṅga*, 14. 2-9; *Āvāntya*-kh., *Revā*-kh., 151. 9; *Āvāntikṣetra*, 44. 2-29; *Māhātmya*-kh., *Keśāra*-kh., 9; 10; 11. 24-25, 32-79; 12; *Śiva Śiv.*, *Sanaikumāra*, V. āṅga., 51; *Śatātudra*, *Vaṅkaṭeśvara* Press, Bombay, 16. 2-16; *Garuḍa* (*Gar.*), V. āṅga., 143. 3-5; *Kālikā* (*Kāl.*), V. āṅga., 21. 71-72; *Devībhāgavata* (*DB.*), ed. Harachandra Basu, Calcutta, 3. 13. 21-23; 9. 41. 51-56; *Viṣṇudharmottara* (*Viṣṇu.*), *Vaṅkaṭeśvara* Press, Bombay, 1. 40. 6-43; 1. 41; 1. 42. 1-47.

27 *Rām.*, 1. 44. 14-27.

28 *Harivaṃśa* (*Hari.*), V. āṅga., 1. 29. 12; 3. 30. 11-32.

are stated there to be spurious.<sup>29</sup> The drinking of the poison by Śiva had been missing from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* and was probably added at a later date.

According to some of the *Purāṇas*,<sup>30</sup> the sage Durvāsa once went to see Indra in heaven and presented to him a garland of Pārijāta flowers. Indra placed it on the head of his elephant who, however, tore it in a moment. At this the sage felt insulted and cursed Indra that the goddess of fortune would vanish from his kingdom. With the disappearance of Lakṣmī from the three worlds, the condition of the people became pitiable. The gods then went to Brahman for help in this matter and were directed by him to go to Nārāyaṇa who advised them to churn the ocean for the purpose. This story is only once mentioned in the *Naiṣadhacarita*, 6. 31.

The *Matsya Purāṇa*,<sup>31</sup> however, says that once the demons became very powerful, because Śukrācārya, their chief priest, used to revive the dead Asuras by means of the knowledge called *Mṛtasañjivani* which he had received as a boon from Śiva. In fear of the demons, the gods appeared to Brahman who advised them to cultivate friendship with the enemy. Then the gods approached the Asuras with the proposal of churning the ocean because this would bring to them Amṛta, by drinking which they would attain immortality. The demons agreed to this proposal and began to churn the ocean along with the gods.

The *Matsya*<sup>32</sup>, *Bhāgavata*<sup>33</sup> and *Skanda*<sup>34</sup> *Purāṇas* specifi-

29 The Commentary of Kaṭakayogin alias Mādhavayogin—*atra maman-ithur=amṛtaujaśa ity=anantaram hālāhal-otpatty-ādi pratipāḍakam purāṇ-āntarastham=atra prakṣipy=ānyas=tad=vyācakāraḥ N=āsmābhiḥ prācīna-suśuddha-pustakeṣu te ślokaḥ dṛśyante* (p. 255, note).

30 *Viṣ.*, 1. 9. 2-26 ; *Pad.*, Svarga. 41 ; *Sṛṣṭi.*, 4 ; *Uttara.*, 231 ; *Brahma.*, 8 ; *Ag.*, 3.

31 *Mat.*, 249.

32 *Ibid.*, 249. 13-22.

33 *Bhāg.*, 8. 6. 18-31.

34 *Skanda.*, *Māheśvara-kh.*, 9. 31-64.

cally mention that the gods approached Bali for this. The *Matsya* says that the gods went to Bali at the advice of Brahman, whereas according to the other two Purāṇas, the advice was given by Viṣṇu.

According to the *Mahābhārata* and many Purāṇas, the Mandara was uprooted by the serpent Śeṣa or Vāsuki, but according to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, by the gods and the Asuras. The *Bhāgavata* also says how the gods and demons were carrying the mountain which slipped off from their hands and crushed many of them under its weight. Viṣṇu revived them by a glance and put the mountain on the back of Garuḍa near him and went with the gods and Asuras to the seashore. Garuḍa placed the mountain in the waters and departed.

There are differences in the order and number of the articles rising from the ocean. Though most of the Purāṇas speak of the number of gems coming out of the ocean as fourteen, they do not mention the names of all of them. We have already said how the *Mahābhārata* gives the names of only seven *ratnas*.<sup>35</sup> Among other works, the *Rāmāyaṇa* mentions six,<sup>36</sup> the *Harivaṃśa* seven,<sup>37</sup> the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* nine,<sup>38</sup> the *Vāyu Purāṇa* one,<sup>39</sup> the *Agni Purāṇa* nine,<sup>40</sup> the *Śiva Purāṇa* two,<sup>41</sup> the *Brahma-*

35 1.16.33-37—Soma (Moon), Lakṣmī, Surā, the white horse, Kaustubha, Dhanvantari and Amṛta.

36 1.44. 18-24—Dhanvantari, sixty crores of Apsarases, Vāruṇī, Uccaiḥśravas, Kaustubha and Amṛta.

37 3.30. 27-29—Dhanvantari, Surā, Śrī, Kaustubha, the Moon, Uccaiḥśravas and Amṛta.

38 1.9. 91-99—Surabhi, Vāruṇī, Pārijāta, the Apsarases, the Moon, the poison Kālākūṭa, Dhanvantari, Śrī and Amṛta.

39 54. 57-58—the poison Kālākūṭa.

40 3. 8-11—Kālākūṭa, Vāruṇī, Pārijāta, Kaustubha, Surabhi, the Apsarases, Lakṣmī, Dhanvantari and Amṛta.

41 *Śiv.*, Śatarudra., 16.3, 8-9—Kālākūṭa and Amṛta. It is vaguely said that various other gems also arose along with the poison and nectar.

*vaivarta Purāṇa* five,<sup>42</sup> the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* eleven,<sup>43</sup> the *Matsya Purāṇa* fourteen,<sup>44</sup> the *Padma Purāṇa* twelve<sup>45</sup> (Brahma-kh.) or eleven (Sṛṣṭi-kh.),<sup>46</sup> or twelve (Svarga-kh.)<sup>47</sup> or twelve (Uttara kh.)<sup>48</sup> or five (Bhūmi-kh.),<sup>49</sup> the *Skanda Purāṇa* two (Kāśi-kh.)<sup>50</sup> or eight (Prabhāsa-kh.)<sup>51</sup> or eleven (Māheśvara-kh.),<sup>52</sup> or fifteen (Āvantya-kh.)<sup>53</sup> and the *Viṣṇu*

42 Prakṛti-kh., 38.59—Dhanvantari, Amṛta, Uccaiśravas, the elephant and Lakṣmī.

43 1.7. 18 and 1.8. 1-36—Kālakūṭa, Surabhi, Uccaiśravas, Airāvata together with eight male and eight female elephants, Kaustubha, Pārijāta, the Apsarases, Lakṣmī, Surā, Dhanvantari and Amṛta.

44 250.2-21 and 25.1-6—the Moon, Lakṣmī, Surā, the horse, Kaustubha, Pārijāta, Kālakūṭa, Dhanvantari, Madirā, Amṛta, Surabhi, Airāvata, an umbrella and a pair of ear-rings. Among the fourteen articles, Madirā and Surā belong to the same category.

45 9.4-9 and 10.1-4—Kālakūṭa, Alakṣmī, Airāvata, Uccaiśravas, Dhanvantari, Pārijāta, Surabhi, the Apsarases, Lakṣmī, the Moon, Amṛta and Tulāsi.

46 4.44-58—Surabhi, Vāruṇī, Pārijāta, sixty crores of Apsarases, the Moon, Kālakūṭa, Dhanvantari, Amṛta, Uccaiśravas, Airāvata and Lakṣmī.

47 41. 26-47—Kālakūṭa, Alakṣmī or Jyeshthā, Airāvata, Uccaiśravas, Dhanvantari, Pārijāta, Surabhi, the Apsarases, Lakṣmī, the Moon, Amṛta and Tulāsi.

48 232. 10-51—Kālakūṭa, Alakṣmī, Vāruṇī, the Apsarases together with the Gandharvas, Airāvata, Uccaiśravas, Dhanvantari, Pārijāta, Surabhi, Lakṣmī, the Moon and Tulāsi.

49 Lakṣmī, Vāruṇī, Jyeshthā, Kāmodā and Amṛta.

50 119. 6.9—Uccaiśravas and the Apsarases.

51 Vastrāpathakṣetra., 17. 29-38, Prabhāsakṣetra., 18. 14-16, and Caturāṣṭīlīṅga., 14.2—the elephant, the horse, the Pārijāta-tree, the Moon, the cow, Amṛta, Lakṣmī and Kālakūṭa. It is specifically mentioned that fourteen precious articles came out of the ocean as a result of churning.

52 Kedāra-kh., 9. 92, 11. 32-70 and 12. 1-3—the poison, the Moon, Surabhi, the Pārijāta-tree along with creepers, Kaustubha, Uccaiśravas, Airāvata with sixtyfour elephants, Madirā with other intoxicants, Lakṣmī, Dhanvantari and Amṛta.

53 Avantīkṣetra., 44. 4.12—Lakṣmī, Kaustubha, Pārijāta, Surā, Dhanvantari, the Moon, the cow, the elephant, Uccaiśravas, Amṛta, a lotus, the Śārṅga bow, the conchshell Pāñajanya, the Apsaras Rambhā and the poison Haṁhala. Although fifteen articles are enumerated, it is stated that fourteen gems came out from the ocean.

*dharmottara Purāṇa* nine.<sup>54</sup> Of these *ratnas*, Nārāyaṇa marries Lakṣmī,<sup>55</sup> wears the Kaustubha on his chest,<sup>56</sup> and accepts the Śārṅga bow and the Pāñcajanya.<sup>57</sup> Śiva drinks the poison<sup>58</sup> and holds the moon on his head as an ornament.<sup>59</sup> But according to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (1.9.96), the poison was swallowed by the serpents. The cow Surabhi was taken by the sages,<sup>60</sup> whereas the Sun took the divine physician Dhanvantari.<sup>61</sup> According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* (1.4.21-23), Vārūṇī was taken by the gods; but according to a version of the *Padma Purāṇa* (Uttara-kh., 232.34), Nāgarāja, the king of the serpents, wanted to possess her. The *Bhāgavata* (8.8.31), *Skanda* (Prabhāsa-kh., 17.33) and *Padma* (Sṛṣṭi-kh., 4.48-49) *Purāṇas*, on the other hand, hold that she was possessed by the Asuras. The *Matsya Purāṇa* (251.3) says that the horse Uccaiṣravas became a possession of Indra; but according to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (8.8.3), it became the property of Bali, the king of the demons, and according to the *Skanda Purāṇa* (Āvantya-kh., 44.25), seven

54 1.41.25-32, 39—Kālakūṭa, the Moon, Kaustubha, Uccaiṣravas, Surā, the Apsarases, Lakṣmī, Amṛta and Dhanvantari.

55 *Mat.*, 251.3; *Brahmaṇḍa*, II. 38.59-60; *Viṣ.*, 1.9.104; *Pad.*, Svarga-kh., 41.58; Sṛṣṭi-kh., 4.67; Brahma-kh., 10.14; Uttara-kh., 232-63; *Bhāg.*, 8.8.24; *Skanda.*, Prabhāsa-kh. Vastrāpathakṣetra., 17.41; Āvantya-kh., Avantikṣetra., 44.24; Māheśvara-kh., Kedāra-kh., 11.74-75; *DB*, 9.41.56; *Viṣṇu.*, 1.41.1.

56 *Mat.*, 250.4; *Bhāg.*, 8.8.6; *Skanda.*, Āvantya-kh., 44.24; Māheśvara-kh., 11.52-53; *Viṣṇu.*, 1.40.29.

57 *Skanda.*, Āvantya-kh., 44.24.

58 *Mat.*, 250; *Vā.*, 54.49-94; *Pad.*, Svarga-kh., 41.26-30; Sṛṣṭi-kh., 4.53-54; Brahma-kh., 9.6; Uttara-kh., 232.18; *Skanda.*, Kāśi-kh., 18.16; Prabhāsa-kh., 14.2-9; Āvantya-kh., 44.29; *Bhāg.*, 8.8.7; *Ag.*, 3.8-9; *Śiv.*, Śatarudra., 16.16; Sanat., 51; *Viṣṇu.*, 1.40.25-27.

59 *Viṣ.*, 1.9.96; *Pad.*, Sṛṣṭi-kh., 4.51-52; *Skanda.*, Kāśi-kh., 18.15; Āvantya-kh., 44.26; *Viṣṇu.*, 1.40.28.

60 *Bhāg.*, 8.8.8; *Skanda.*, Māheśvara-kh., 11.47.

61 *Mat.*, 251.3-4.

horses were given by Nārada to the Sun. Indra becomes the owner of the elephant Airāvata,<sup>62</sup> the pair of ear-rings<sup>63</sup> and the Apsaras Rambhā.<sup>64</sup> The umbrella was allotted to Varuṇa<sup>65</sup> and Jyeṣṭhā or Alakṣmī, i.e. the goddess of misfortune, to Uddālaka.<sup>66</sup> According to the Svarga-kh., Brahma-kh., and Uttara-kh. of the *Padma Purāṇa*, the place of the goddess of misfortune is the habitat of evil people engaged in quarrel. The *Matsya Purāṇa*<sup>67</sup> states that Vāyu took the Pārijāta tree; but according to the other Purāṇas,<sup>68</sup> the tree went to Indra. The *Padma Purāṇa* (Uttara-kh., 232.51) describes the plant Tulasī as the spouse of Viṣṇu. The *Mahāpadma* (i.e. the lotus) goes to Kuvera as a treasure.<sup>69</sup> The Amṛta, for which the ocean was churned, becomes the possession of the Devas.

According to S. A. Dange, "The whole idea of the churning of the ocean appears to have been handed down from the Vedic times suggested from the sacrificial pressing of the Soma plants by the pressing stones (*adri*) into the *samudra*".<sup>70</sup> He draws our attention to the following points: (1) Soma and Amṛta both give immortality. (2) In the *Mahābhārata*, the ocean, called *kalāśa*, gradually becomes milky and full of *ghṛta* due to the juices that came out of the various plants. This account of the mixing of the juices of plants in the ocean corroborates the Vedic idea of Soma being mixed with milk in its *yonī* which is identified by Sāyaṇa<sup>71</sup> with the vessel (*kalāśa*) that is

62 *Ibid.*, 251.3; *Skanda.*, Āvantya-kh., 44.25.

63 *Mat.*, 251.4.

64 *Skanda.*, Āvantya-kh., 44.26-27.

65 *Mat.*, 251.4.

66 *Pad.*, Svarga-kh., 41.57-58; Brahma-kh., 10.13.

67 251.5.

68 Cf. *Skanda.*, Āvantya-kh., 44.26-27.

69 *Ibid.*, 44.28.

70 *Legends in the Mahābhārata*, Delhi, 1969, p. 256.

71 See Sāyaṇa on *Rgveda*, 9.82.1; 9.86.6; 9.37.2; 9.38.6; 9.40.2; and so on.

*ghṛtavat* (full of *ghṛta*). (3) Soma is pressed by the pressing stone, called *adri* which also means a 'mountain', and Amṛta came out from the ocean as it was churned with the help of a mountain. (4) From the *Rgveda* (9.42.1), it is clear that Soma, being mixed with water, generated heavenly bodies and the Sun. The legend of Samudramanthana also says that the ocean produced several luminaries when it was churned. (5) The *Rgveda*<sup>72</sup> further states that, after being pressed, Soma ascends to heaven. This upward movement of Soma from its *yoni* (i.e. a vessel or *kalāṣa*) is identical with the coming out of Amṛta from the ocean having another name *kalāṣa*. Dange concludes, "The whole idea of the churning of nectar from the ocean is taken from the pressing of Soma in the sacrifice."<sup>73</sup>

It is true that, often in the Vedic literature,<sup>74</sup> Soma is called Amṛta ; but the process of extracting the juice of Soma is quite different from the churning of ocean for obtaining nectar. Whereas, in the description of the extraction of Soma juice, the Vedas<sup>75</sup> use the root *su*, 'to press', and Soma is crushed or pressed with stones, Amṛta comes out after the churning of the ocean and not from its being pressed with a mountain.

Being crushed with a stone, 'the pressed drops of Soma are poured upon and pass over the strainer of sheep's wool'<sup>76</sup> and 'after passing the filter' it 'flows into jars (*kalāṣa*) or vats

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.40.2.

<sup>73</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 251.

<sup>74</sup> *S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa* (*S'B*), ed. Weber, Vārāṇasī (1964), 5.5.1.8 ; *Rgveda* (*RV*), ed. Maxmüller, London (1872), 9.51.2.

<sup>75</sup> *Atharvaveda* (*AV*), ed. Vishvabandhu, Hoshiarpur (1961), 6.2.1 ; *RV*, 9.3.9-10 ; 9.6.6-8 ; 9.10.4 ; 9.11.5 ; 9.12.1 ; 9.13.5 ; 9.16.7 ; 9.17.2 ; 9.18.1 ; 9.24.5 ; 9.27.3 ; 9.28.2 ; 9.29.1 ; 9.32.1 ; 9.34.1-3 ; 9.37.1 ; 9.69.9 ; 9.86.23 ; 9.37.5 ; 9.38.6 ; 9.39.3 ; and so on.

<sup>76</sup> Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, Vārāṇasī, 1963, p. 106 ; *RV*, 9.6.1 ; 9.8.4 ; 9.13.1 ; 9.16.8 ; 9.20.1 ; 9.28.1 ; 9.69.9 ; 9.86.25 ; 9.38.1 ; 9.60.2-3 ; and so on.

(*droṇa*)<sup>77</sup> where it is mixed with water for dilution and cleansed by means of ten fingers.<sup>78</sup> Without filtration, Soma could not be used for drinking. Amṛta, on the other hand, remained in the *kalāśa* (i.e. the ocean) even before its churning and the gods drank it without filtration.

After being filtered, the juice of Soma comes to be mixed with water.<sup>79</sup> According to the *Mahābhārata*, various medicinal herbs fell from the Mandara in the waters, and the mixture of their juices with the essence of gold produced Amṛta.<sup>80</sup> When Soma, after being filtered, goes to the jars or vats, it makes a mild sound.<sup>81</sup> In the *Samudramanthana*, on the other hand, a terrible sound is stated to be produced by the churning. The Soma juice is prepared from the mixture of milk, sour-milk, barley and honey;<sup>82</sup> but the *Mahābhārata* states that various kinds of trees and medicinal herbs fell into the ocean and that, from their fluids and milk mixed with the essence of gold, Amṛta was produced. Thus the process of the preparation of Soma differs from that of Amṛta.

That Soma and Amṛta are not the same is also evident from the following considerations : (1) Often in the *Rgveda*, Soma is called *Samudra*, 'ocean'.<sup>83</sup> Amṛta, on the other hand,

77 Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 106 ; *RV*, 9.3.1 ; 9.8.6 ; 9.12.4 ; 9.15.7 ; 9.16.4 ; 9.17.1 ; 9.17.4 ; 9.18.7 ; 9.21.3, 7 ; 9.28.3 ; 9.29.3 ; 9.30.4 ; 9.31.1 ; 9.33.2 ; 9.85.10 ; 9.86.1, 3-4, 6-7 ; 9.28.3 ; 9.29.3 ; 9.30.4 ; 9.31.1 ; 9.33.2 ; 9.85.10 ; 9.86.1, 3-4, 6-7, 9, 11, 19-20, 22, 23, 26 ; 9.37.2, 5-6 ; 9.38.1, 6 ; 9.40.2 ; 9.60.3 ; and so on.

78 *RV*, 9.3.2 ; 9.6.5 ; 9.8.4 ; 9.14.6, 7 ; 9.15.8 ; 9.16.2 ; 9.20.6 ; 9.25.2 ; 9.26.5 ; 9.28.3 ; 9.32.1 ; 9.36.4 ; 9.86.27 ; 9.38.3 ; 9.61.7 ; and so on.

79 *Ibid.*, 9.2.5 ; 9.16.2 ; 9.30.5 ; 9.86.25 ; 2.74.5 ; 9.79.4 ; 9.86.8 ; and so on.

80 *Mbh.*, 1.16.25-26.

81 *RV*, 9.13.7 ; 9.18.7 ; 9.25.2 ; 9.27.4 ; 9.30.2 ; 9.33.4 ; 9.85.9 ; 9.86.7, 11, 20, 22 ; 9.37.2 ; 9.38.6 ; and so on.

82 *Ibid.*, 5.27.5.

83 *Ibid.*, 9.64.8 ; 1.11.6.



is not an ocean, but comes out of it. (2) The methods of preparing Soma for offering it to different gods differ. Thus, unmixed Soma is offered to gods like Vāyu and Indra; mixed with milk, it is offered to Mitrā-Varuṇa; and mixed with honey it is used as an offering to the Aśvins.<sup>84</sup> There is nothing like this in the case of Amṛta. (3) In the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇic works, the gods are said to have churned the ocean with the help of the Asuras. Although the Vedic works (particularly the Brāhmaṇas)<sup>85</sup> sometimes refer to the wrong way of performing Vedic rites by the Asuras resulting in their defeat at the hands of the gods, there is no mention of their performance of sacrificial rites or extraction of Soma juice jointly with the gods.

It will therefore be seen that, although Soma has many characteristics similar to those of Amṛta, the former differs in many ways from the latter in its nature and in the process of its extraction. The legend of Samudramanthana has no Vedic basis. It is probable that the story developed when efforts were made for a synthesis of the Aryan and the Nonaryan culture and civilization. In order to Aryanise the story, it has been given a Vedic basis by connecting it with the ceremony of the extraction of the Soma juice. We have already mentioned that Amṛta was produced from the fluids of various kinds of medicinal herbs mixed up with the essence of gold.<sup>86</sup> In the *Atharvaveda*<sup>87</sup> as well as in the Tantra literature,<sup>88</sup> instructions are given for preparing medicines by mixing the essence of

84 Macdonell, *op cit.*, p. 106.

85 *Śāṅkhayāna Brāhmaṇa* (Ānandāśrama Press, Poona, 1911), 7.3.

86 See note 64 above.

87 *AV*, 4. 7. 1; 6. 16. 1; see also Mira Roy, 'Family Relations of Some Plants in the *Atharvaveda*', *Indian Journal of History of Science*, Vol. 5, 1970, pp. 165-66.

88 *Rasaprakāśasudhākara* (Āyurvedīya Granthamā'ā, Vol. I, Bombay, 1910-11), 8. 150-54, 165, 235-41.

gold with the juices of certain herbs or plants. It is probable, therefore, that this was a medicine which could cure a person of disease and also could give him strength, hence it was probably the process of the preparation of the elixir of immortality to the aboriginal Asuras or Nonaryans or Aryans.

The *Mahābhārata*<sup>89</sup> states that due to the ocean Dhanvantari emerged with a pot of nectar in his hand. Some Purāṇas<sup>90</sup> say that Dhanvantari came forth from the ocean separately ; but the *Mahābhārata* story. This Dhanvantari was a Nonaryan. S. A. Dange identifies him with the Dhanvantari of the *Mahābhārata*<sup>91</sup> clearly states that Dhanvantari came forth from the ocean after the departure of Śrī, Śrī, and his horse by the sun-path. So Dhanvantari was identified with the Sun. The *Harivaṃśa*<sup>92</sup> says that after the manthana, Dhanvantari emerged out of the ocean after having performed great austerities for the success of his purpose. He was given by Viṣṇu to give him a share in the sacrificial place (*loka*) among the gods. But Viṣṇu gave him a place past the gods deserving shares of sacrifice. He had already divided these among the gods. The sages of the past had also offered him a share. He was as Dhanvantari was born after them, he was given a share and no *upahoma* (secondary horse).

89 *Mbh.*, I. 16. 37.

90 *Brahmavai.*, II. 38. 59 ; *Pad.*, Svarga-kāṇḍa, 37 ; *Brahma-kh.*, 10. 1 ; *Skanda*, Āvantya-kāṇḍa, 41.55 ; *Hari.*, I. 29. 12.

91 *Op. cit.*, p. 277, note 113.

92 *Mbh.*, I. 16. 36-37.

93 I. 29. 12-27.

for him at any time. Viṣṇu added that, at his second birth (as the son of Saunahotri, king of Kāśī), Dhanvantari would attain *aṇimā* and other *siddhis* even when lying in the mother's womb. He would also attain the state of a god (*devatva*) in human body. Viṣṇu further said that Dhanvantari would be worshipped with *caru*, *mantra*, *vrata* and *japa* by the twice-born and would compile the *Āyurveda*[*śāstra*] of eight limbs. Viṣṇu assured Dhanvantari that these incidents, foreseen by the lotus-born (Brahman), were sure to happen. This account reveals that Dhanvantari was not allowed by Viṣṇu to have a share in the sacrifice at first. Again, nowhere in the early Vedic literature, the name of Dhanvantari is mentioned. In the later Vedic texts,<sup>94</sup> he is of course described as a deity, and in the *Ahīrbudhnyasāṃhitā*<sup>95</sup> and most of the Purāṇas,<sup>96</sup> he is described as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. Thus Dhanvantari was probably a Nonaryan, who was later adopted in the Aryan fold and accepted as a deity and an Avatāra of Viṣṇu and given a share in the sacrifice. Dhanvantari's association with Amṛta suggests that the Nonaryans were acquainted with the process of preparing Amṛta.

Although the *Āyurveda* is said to have been composed by Brahman,<sup>97</sup> its traditional association with the *Atharvaveda* containing references to Nonaryan practices makes it possible

94 *Gautama Dharmasūtra*, ed. L. Srinivasacharya, Mysore (1917), 5. 11 ; *Bhāradvāja Gṛhyasūtra*, ed. Henriette J. W. Solomons, Leyden (1913), 3. 9 ; 1.23 ; *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, ed. L. Srinivasacharya, Mysore (1907), 2.5. 26 ; *Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra*, ed. L. Srinivasacharya, Mysore (1904), 2. 8. 9 ; *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra*, ed. T. Ganapatiśāstri, Trivandrum (1923), 1. 2. 1 ; 1. 10. 9 ; *Mānava Gṛhyasūtra*, GO., Baroda, 1926, 2. 12. 2-3, 19.

95 *AS*, ed. M. D. Ramanujacharya, Madras (1916), 5. 53 ; F. Otto Schrader, *Introduction to the Pāñcārātra and the Ahīrbudhnyasāṃhitā*, Madras, 1916, p. 45.

96 *Bhāg*, 1. 3. 17 ; 8. 8. 35 ; 9. 17. 4 ; *Ag.*, 3. 11 ; *Viṣ*, 1.8. 2-4 ; *Brahmaval.*, Śrīkrṣṇajanma-kh., 51. 1-2 ; *Gar.*, 1. 1. 26.

97 *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, ed. N. Sengupta and B. Sengupta, Calcutta (Śāka

that it was derived from the Nonaryan source. Like the *Āyurveda*, the Tantra-literature also has a Nonaryan origin. There are several divisions of the Tantra-śāstra belonging to the Śaivas, Vaiṣnavas, Śāktas, etc.; but all of them profess primarily or secondarily the worship of the Devī who can be traced to the Babylonian civilization where people used to worship the Mother goddess.

Of the different herbs, from the juices of which Amṛta was produced, some were poisonous and the poison Kālākūṭa or Halāhala that emerged from the ocean is a production of the fluids of those poisonous herbs. The poison was so powerful that even Viṣṇu was unable to keep it with him; but the Nonaryan deity Śiva swallowed it and saved the world from destruction. This seems to indicate that the Nonaryans were familiar with the practice of the extraction of poison from herbs and knew how to cure a person from the effects of poison.

While discussing the swallowing of Kālākūṭa by Śiva stated in the *Mahābhārata*, Dange<sup>98</sup> uses the critical Poona edition which regards the said portion of the story as spurious. The story of Śiva's drinking the poison has a Nonaryan colour, and it is probable that the story was added to the legend at a later date. In the *Rgveda* (10.136.7), Rudra is found to drink poison with a mad *muni* named Keśin.\* In the later period, the characteristics of Rudra were changed. In the Vedic texts, Rudra is painted as furious; but in the epics as well as the Purāṇas, he turns out to be benevolent and works for the good of the world. It is probable that the conception of Śiva, whose prototype is found on a seal unearthed from Mohenjodaro, was associated with that of Keśin, the long-haired *yogin*

1859), 1. 1. 3; *Carakasamhitā*, Nirṇayasāgara, Bombay (1941), 1. 1. 4; *Kaśyapasamhitā*, Nirṇayasāgara, 1938, p. 42; *Bṛahmavai*, 1.16.9.

<sup>98</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 243.

\* [ This is the source of Śiva's poison-drinking episode.—Ed. ]

or *muni*.<sup>99</sup> The image of Śiva found on the seal of Mohenjodaro has long hair and is shown as a *yogin*.<sup>100</sup>

Several Purāṇas<sup>101</sup> state that Brahman or Viṣṇu advised the gods to go to *pātāla* and request the Asura king Bali for help in churning the ocean. Although in early Vedic literature, the term *asura* is used as a designation of gods<sup>102</sup> and generally means 'one possessing strength or wisdom, in the later Vedic age, the epithet came to mean Nonaryans regarded as Daitya or the sons of Diti and often called Dāsa or Dasyu for their mischievous character. In the Vedic<sup>103</sup> and Purāṇic<sup>104</sup> literature, the Asuras are described as possessing several forts, palaces, jewellery and various kinds of luxurious articles which show that they were rich and powerful.

In the Rgvedic age, the Panis were Nonaryan seafaring merchants, and oceans are described in the *Rgveda* as full of wealth.<sup>105</sup> In the story of Samudramanthana also treasures are stated to be coming out from the ocean.

99 *RV*, 10. 136. 4-5.

100 R. C. Hazra, 'Further Light on the God of the Famous Mohenjodaro Seals' in *Our Heritage*, Vol. 17, Part I, 1969. [Keśin was the prototype of the later Śiva-bhāgavata or Pāśupata devotee of Śiva (Śircar, *Stud. Rel. L. Anc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 9-10).—Ed.]

101 See notes 32-34.

102 *RV*, 7. 2. 3; 7. 6. 1; 7. 30. 3; 7. 57. 24; 8. 19. 23; 8. 20. 17; 8. 42. 1; 9. 73. 1; 9. 99. 1; 10. 10. 2; 10. 11. 6; 10. 31. 6; 10. 56. 6; 10. 67. 2; 10. 93. 14; 10. 99. 2.

103 *Ibid.*, 6. 39. 2; 6. 18. 8; 6. 18. 5; 6. 20. 7; 7. 19. 5; 4. 30. 13; 1. 93. 4; 1. 51. 5; 1. 51. 11; 1. 32. 11; 4. 16. 13; 1. 30. 7; 2. 19. 6; 2. 14. 6; 2. 14. 3; 2. 24. 2, 6; 10. 8. 8, 9; 10. 67. 6; 10. 76. 3; 10. 89. 7; 10. 138. 3; 9. 22. 7.

104 *Vā.*, 50. 24-44; *Mat.*, 187. 8-9, 19-23; 188. 9ff.; 129. 4-35; 130. 1-28; 131. 1-50; 132-140; *Pad.*, *Srṣṭi-kh.*, 30. 77-88; *Svarga-kh.*, 7. 18-22, 58-66; *Ag.*, 276. 19; *Brahmaval.*, 56. 23; *Bhāg.*, 7. 10. 53-54; 5. 24. 28; *Hari.*, 2. 116. 20; 3. 50. 18-48; 3. 51. 3-92; *Saura Purāṇa* (*Saura.*, *Vaṅga.*), 34.

105 *RV*, 9. 33. 6; see also the commentary of Sāyana.

The Nonaryans were skilful in battle and agriculture and were keepers of animals. The nomadic Aryans subdued the aboriginal tribes and became rich and prosperous. The story of Viṣṇu's distribution of Amṛta to the gods by depriving the demons of it is significant. The Vedas<sup>106</sup> also state that originally this earth belonged to the Asuras and the gods only had a share in it. Gradually the gods, having conquered the Asuras, took possession of their treasure. The things that came out of the ocean were the symbols of wealth (cf. *Kaustubha*, *Mahāpadma* and *Pārijāta*), prosperity (cf. *Śrī*), strength-giving medicine (cf. *Amṛta*), medical science (cf. *Dhanvantari*), agriculture (cf. the cow *Surabhi*) and the requisites of war (cf. the elephant *Airāvata*, the horse *Uccaiṣkrāvas*, the *Śārṅga* bow and the conchshell *Pāṇḍrajanya*). These were taken first by the Asuras and appear to have originally belonged to them; but the gods appropriated them by deceit and left the undesirable ones such as *Alakṣmī* and *Vāruṇī* for them.

We have already said that, in most of the Purāṇas, *Surā* is stated to be taken by the Asuras. In several places of the *Harivaṁśa*,<sup>107</sup> *Surā* is mentioned as a goddess and as another form of *Devī Kātyāyanī*. People used to offer oblations to the goddess *Kātyāyanī* with *surā* (wine) and *māṁsa* (flesh)<sup>108</sup> which were considered her favourite. *Kātyāyanī* is described as holding in her hand a cup full of wine.<sup>109</sup> The conception of the *Devī* developed from that of the Iranian Mother goddess who was adopted by the Nonaryans.\*

*Surā* is different from the Soma juice. Soma was not prepared from rotten articles and it had also many special qualities.

106 *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (ed. A. Mahādeva Śāstri, Mysore, 1908) 3. 2. 9. 73—*Asurāṇām vā iyaṁ = agra āsit*; *S'B*, 6. 6. 3. 2.

107 2. 3. 18; 2. 120. 18.

108 *Ibid.*, 2. 2. 52; 2. 3. 12.

109 *Ibid.*, 2. 3. 41; 2. 22. 54.

\* [This is doubtful.—Ed.]

Surā, on the other hand, was made from stale objects and was disliked by the Smṛti works.<sup>110</sup> But the Asuras offered oblations to the goddesses with Surā and used to drink it before going to battle.

After the Samudramanthana, Śiva placed the Moon on his head as an ornament. The Moon and Rudra are described in the *Matsya*<sup>111</sup> and *Viṣṇudharmottara*<sup>112</sup> *Purāṇas* as violent deities (*ugra devatā*). About the Moon in Babylonian mythology, L. W. King says that in Ur the worship of the Moon-god was celebrated from remote antiquity, and in influence and splendour, his cult appears to have eclipsed that of Shamash, the Sun-god. According to one tradition, Shamash was regarded as the son of the Moon god, and this subordination of Sun-worship to the cult of the Moon is an interesting peculiarity of early Babylonian religion.<sup>113</sup> Again, nowhere in the entire Vedic literature Rudra is found to be associated with any other deity except Soma.<sup>114</sup> So the acceptance of an *Ugra Devatā* (i.e. the Moon) as an ornamental decoration by Śiva, who also is a violent as well as a Nonaryan deity, is intelligible.\*

In the Vedic literature Soma is often called *Indu*<sup>115</sup> which is also an epithet of the Moon. The identification of Soma with the Moon was due probably to the yellowish white colour of

110 *Mat.*, 25. 61.

111 *Ibid*, 225. 12-13.

112 *Viṣṇu*, 2. 70. 12-13.

113 *Babylonian Religion and Mythology*, Vol. 4, London, 1903, pp. 17-18.

114 *RV*, 6.74.1-14 ; *AV*, 7.42.1-2.

\* [ The Indian Moon-god is insignificant, and Śiva wears the crescent just as Viṣṇu wears the *kaustubha*. Nonaryan Śiva is not violent.—Ed. ]

115 *RV*. 9.2.2 ; 9.1.5 ; 9.2.7, 9, 10 ; 9.4.10 ; 9.5.9 ; 9.6.4 ; 9.8.7 ; 9.11.1 ; 9.12.1, 4, 6, 9 ; 9.13.4-5, 7 ; 9.17.2 ; 9.21.3, 5 ; 9.22.6 ; 9.24.1, 5 ; 9.29.6 ; 9.30.2, 5 ; 9.31.2, 6 ; 9.34.1 ; 9.35.2 ; 9.86.2, 16, 18, 22-23 ; 9.37.6 ; 9.38.2, 5 ; and so on. See also *SB*, 1.6.4.5, 15 ; 11.1.3.3 ; 11.1.5.3 and 11.1.4.4—where Soma is called Candramas.

the fluid (when placed in a round vat),<sup>116</sup> to its brilliance and also to its fertilizing effect.<sup>117</sup> Sometimes in the *Ṛgveda*, the colour of the Soma plant and juice is described as brown (*babhru*)<sup>118</sup> or ruddy (*aruṇa*);<sup>119</sup> but in most cases it is called tawny (*hari*).<sup>120</sup> The colour of the Moon is also yellowish and brilliant. Again, in the Vedic literature Soma is described as a fertilizer of the waters and an impregnator (*retodhā*).<sup>121</sup> The Moon, on the other hand, has gladdening power. It creates passion in human mind and that is why according to Purāṇic stories, the gods used to send Apsarases to seduce the sages in full-moon nights.

The *Rāmāyaṇa*<sup>122</sup> states that, from the churned ocean, emerged sixty crores of Apsarases who were accepted neither by the gods nor by the demons and therefore remained for the enjoyment of people in general. We have explained elsewhere<sup>123</sup> that the word *apsaras*, derived from the root *sr* (to move) preceded by the word *ap* (water), etymologically means 'going in the waters or through the waters', and most probably the idea of Apsarases came from the girls living in the small chambers by the side of the great bath attached to the temple of Ishtar. The Babylonian evidence reveals that unmarried girls were supposed to be human substitutes for the goddess Ishtar or Ashtart, and there was a general belief that the goddess

116 *RV*, 9.72.5 ; 9.92.1.

117 *Ibid.*, 9.40.5 ; 9.43.6 ; 9.45.6 ; 9.62.30 ; 9.63.1 ; 9.65.1, 5, 24 ; 9.66.18, 21, 27 ; 9.67, 9, 19 ; 9.86.19 ; and so on.

118 *Ibid.*, 9.11.4 ; 9.31.5 ; and so on.

119 *Ibid.*, 9.40.2 ; 9.45.3 ; 9.11.4 ; and so on.

120 *Ibid.*, 9.3.9 ; 9.5.4, 9, 10 ; 9.7.6 ; 9.26.5 ; 9.27.6 ; 9.30.5 ; 9.32.2 ; 9.33.4 ; 9.34.4 ; 9.86.6, 11 ; 9.37.2 ; 9.38.6 ; and so on.

121 *Ibid.*, 9.86.39 ; 9.77.1 ; 9.86.28 ; *Maṭrāyaṇīśaṁhitā*, ed. Leopold von Schroeder, Leipzig (1881), 1.6.9.

122 Baroda ed., 1.44. 18-20.

123 See 'The Story of Pṛithu as utilised by the Early Sanskrit Poets' to be published in *Our Heritage*.



was pleased if a man satisfied the desires of those maidens. All persons were allowed to enjoy them. The statement of the *Rāmāyaṇa* shows that the Apsarases were also enjoyed by all. The story of Samudramanthana seems to corroborate the Babylonian association of the conception of Apsarases.\*

In the *Harivaṃśa*<sup>124</sup> and *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*,<sup>125</sup> the term *soma*, signifying the juice extracted from the Soma plants, is identified with the nectar that emerged from the ocean. But nowhere in the Samudramanthana story of the *Mahābhārata* nectar is identified with the Soma juice. It is probable that, in the later texts of the *Harivaṃśa* and *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, Amṛta is identified with Soma only to Aryanise the legend by giving it a Vedic basis.\*\*

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\* [ We have doubts about this.—Ed. ]

124 3.30.12.

125 42 46.

\*\* [ Any beautifull, agreeable or desired object could be called *amṛta*.  
—Ed. ]

## THE MUTTARAIYAR

K. G. KRISHNAN

*Introduction.* The role of feudatories in the history of a country often becomes a factor potentially influencing the rise and fall of the major dynasties. The feudatories behave like reeds and manage to survive upto a considerably longer time. One such family of feudatories is the Muttaraiyar.<sup>1</sup>

The etymology of the name yields several meanings, of which *mūṇṇu + taraiyar* (lords of three territories) seems more reasonable and may well fit into the historical context of the times. One other important title of this family is read as *Kaḷvar-Kaḷvan*<sup>2</sup> which can also be transcribed as *Kaḷavara* or *Kaḷvara* or *Kaḷavra* which recalls the name Kalabhra. The Tamil Sangam anthologies contain a few poems referring to Pulli, a chieftain ruling over Veṅgaḍam, i. e., the modern Tirumalai-Tirupati. He is described in one of the poems<sup>3</sup> as *Kaḷvar-komān*. The word *Kaḷvar* here can also be read as *Kaḷavara* without affecting the metre of the poem.<sup>4</sup> It is therefore possible to surmise that both this Pulli and the later Muttaraiyar belonged to the same tribe called Kalvar,<sup>5</sup> though the

1 See my short study of this dynasty in *Damīlica*, Vol. I, pp. 68-72.

2 This occurs in one of the early inscriptions of the Muttaraiyar (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 134ff.) found at Sendalai in the Tanjavur District in the heart of the Coḷa country. The inscription uses the dot mark of consonants. In one place (*ibid.*, p. 139) it reads *Kaḷvar* and in another (pp. 143, 145 and 148) *Kaḷvara*. Shorn of ornamentation, the characters of the inscription may be attributed to the latter half or the end of the 8th century A. D.

3 *Ahaṇṇāṇṇu*, 61.

4 It is well known that stone inscriptions as well as palm-leaf manuscripts do not contain dots over the consonants uniformly, thus leaving room for possible differences in the reading of the text.

5 The description of Pulli as a patron chief of a robber gang (*Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index*, s. v.) is not correct.

link remains obscure. Buddhadatta Thera, the author of the Pali text entitled *Vinayaviniccaya*, who is said to have lived about the beginning of the fifth century A. D., refers in his work to the Kalamba (Kalabhra) king Accutavikkanta (Acyutavikrānta) ruling from Kavērapattinam.<sup>6</sup> According to tradition, three poems on this king were composed by the Cera, Cola and Pāṇḍya who had been imprisoned by him.<sup>7</sup> The *Yāpparuṅgala-ṟṟi*, a work on prosody assignable to about the tenth century, contains a poem, quoted as an example, on a king called Accuta who is said to be the lord of the Nandi hill.<sup>8</sup> If the hill is identified with its namesake in Mysore State and the chief with Accutavikkanta of the Buddhist work, he should be considered to have belonged to the Kalvar tribe which might have migrated first westward from the region around Vēṅgaḍam (Tirumalai-Tirupati). The expressions *Kalikulānām* in the Koppāram plates of Pulakeśin II, *Kali-aratan*, i. e., Kalabhra in the Velvikudi plates of Pāṇḍya Neduñjadaiyan, and Kalināḍu or Kalavara-nādu being the names of the areas in the Bangalore, Kōlar and Chittoor Districts seem to indicate the probability of a lingering association of these people with the area for a considerable period in the early days.<sup>9</sup> This appears also to be echoed in the description of this tribe as *Vaḍugak-Karunāḍar* by Śekkilār in the *Periyapurāṇam* in the twelfth century. Their drift towards the south was apparently due to the pressure from the Pallavas on the north before about the fourth century. The recapture of Kāñci by the

6 Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, s. v.

7 *Peruntogai*, verses 1002-04.

8 Oḷiyar mentioned in the Sangam works and the word *oli* used thrice in the Velvikudi plates are sought to be connected with the Kalabhras (*Kanchipuram in Early South Indian History*, pp. 12-14). The word *oli* is, however, used in the sense of shining or splendour. It has nothing to do with the Kalabhras.

9 *Trans. Arch. Soc. S. Ind.*, 1936-37, pp. 74f. The references to inscriptions given therein belong to the seventh century and later.

Pallavas under Kumāraṣṇu<sup>10</sup> appears to suggest the possibility of the Kalabhra drift towards the south. It is possible that they adopted the title Muttaraiyar during this period. The final subjugation of the Kalabhras appears to have happened in the reign of Simhaviṣṇu who is said to have conquered Colāṇi which means Colā-nāḍu. It should be noted that the name of the country is mentioned and that the ruler's identity is not indicated. It is very probable that the Colā country was wrested by the Pallavas from the Kalabhras (Kalvar). The Pallavas from Simhaviṣṇu down to Nandivarman Pallavamalla and the Pāṇḍyas under Kaduṅgon are said to have defeated the Kalabhras. The Colas did not rise up as their counterparts did. It is in their homeland that we find the Muttaraiyar settled. They seem to have been placed there as a buffer between the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas, giving no chance to the Colas until the rise of Vijayālaya.

*Genealogy.* A study of all the inscriptions containing names of the Muttaraiyar chiefs and of persons associated with them has enabled us to draw up a complete genealogy of this family from about the middle of the eighth century to about the close of the ninth. The earliest members known to us is Cāttan Māraṇ also known as Viḍelviḍugu-Viluppēradi-araiṣan.<sup>11</sup> His mother is referred to as Perumbiḍugu-Perundēvi. His name contains the patronymic Cāttan.<sup>12</sup> The names of the next few members of this family are available in the Sendalai pillar inscription<sup>13</sup> which speaks of three chiefs, the first of whom is Kuvāvan Māraṇ *alias* Perumbiḍugu-Muttaraiyan. Kuvāvan is apparently his father's name. His own name Māraṇ suggests

<sup>10</sup> *SII*, Vol. II, p. 508, verse 8 ; p. 510.

<sup>11</sup> *Ins. Pudukhoṭai State (Texts)*, No. 13.

<sup>12</sup> For the occurrence of patronymics in such double names, see *A. R. Ep.*, 1936:37, Nos. 1146-48.

<sup>13</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp 134-49.

that he was perhaps named after his grandfather, according to the age-old custom in South India, who may be identical with Cāttan Māṛan mentioned above. With the addition of the next two names Māṛan Parameśvaran and Cavarān Māṛan<sup>14</sup> described as son and son's son respectively, the genealogy is carried up to six generations from Cāttan to Māṛan. Another member of this family figures in an inscription<sup>15</sup> dated in the 16th regnal year of Pallava Dantivarman (c. 800 A. D.). His name is Kuvāvan Cāttan and his title Videlviḍugu-Muttaraiyan. He was obviously a son of Kuvāvan who may be identified with his namesake Kuvāvan, the father of the first of the three chiefs mentioned in the Sendalai inscription referred to above. Thus we find that there were perhaps two sons of Kuvāvan Māṛan. The names of three more members of this family are also available. They are respectively Cāttan-Pūdi, Cāttan-Kāḷi and Cāttan-Paḷiyili, the second of whom was a woman. The first bore the title Videlviḍugu-Iḷaṅgo-adiyaraian. The latter two are described as the daughter and the son of a Videlviḍugu-Muttaraiyan. The patronymic Cāttan in their names indicate that they are the offsprings of Kuvāvan-Cāttan *alias* Videlviḍugu-Muttaraiyan. Cāttan-Pūdi is mentioned in an inscription<sup>16</sup> not referring to any overlord, which can be assigned to about the first half of the ninth century on grounds of palaeography. Cāttan-Kāḷi figures as the donatrix of gold for a lamp, in the reign of a Māṛan-Caḍaiyan who may be identified with Varaguṇa II,<sup>17</sup> and Cāttan Paḷiyili is referred to in an inscription<sup>18</sup> dated in the reign of Pallava Nṛpaṭuṅga.

14 *Cuvaran*, the first part of the name forms the last three syllables of the name *Parameccuvaran* as it is written in the Tamil alphabet.

15 *Ins. Pudukkottai State (Texts)*, loc. cit.

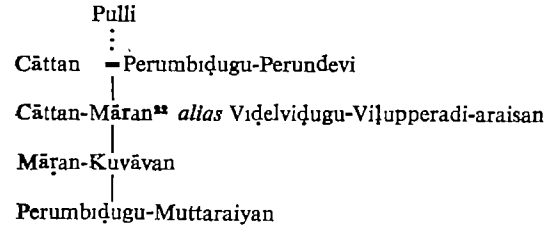
16 *A. R. Ep.*, 1940-41, No. 216.

17 *Ibid.*, 1960-61, No. 318 ; intro., p. 20.

18 *SII*, Vol. XII, No. 63.

An early chief named Kāḍuvetṭi-Muttaraiyan is mentioned in an inscription<sup>19</sup> of Dantivarman. His place in the genealogy is, however, not known. An earlier chief called Kāḍakka-Muttaraiyar<sup>20</sup> is mentioned as one of the persons who received Pallavamalla (Nandivarman II) when he arrived at Kāñci to be crowned as king (c. 730 A. D.). In the absence of the names of these chiefs, it is difficult to identify them with any known member of this family. The reference to the lady Naṅgaiyār Naṅgai Dayānidhiyār, described as the queen of Perumbiḍugu-Muttaraiyar, as a donatrix in the reign of Āditya I<sup>21</sup> indicates that there was yet another Perumbiḍugu-Muttaraiyar, besides the two known from the Sendalai pillar inscription, who must have lived during or before the reign of Āditya I. The said chief cannot be fixed in the genealogy without further evidence. It is possible that he was a descendant of the elder branch of this family represented in the Sendalai inscription.

#### Genealogical Table



19 *Ibid.*, No. 44 ; *A. R. Ep.*, 1906, No. 542.

20 *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 135, Sec. I.

21 *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, No. 288.

22 *Ins. Pudukkottai State (Texts)*, 13.



The genealogical chart given here contains a few more names of the members of the family.<sup>32</sup>

*History.* Pulli, the most ancient among the members of this dynasty, probably lived long before the Christian era. He is eulogised in some of the poems<sup>33</sup> composed by Māmūlanār who should be placed in the earliest generation figuring in the Tamil Sangam anthologies. He was the ruler of an area around Veṅgaḍam (Tirumalai-Tirupati) and is said to have subjugated the country belonging to Maḷavar whose identity is not known.<sup>34</sup> His liberality in offering drinks to visitors to his court is praised by the poet who says that a land beyond the intractable forest adjoining his territory was peopled by the Vadugar speaking a different language.

The subsequent career of the Kaḷvar (Kalabhra) tribe was sought in the Kāveri region from about the fifth to the ninth century. This is a case of dynastic drift, a more telling example of which is provided in the history of the Bāṇas. Due to the long gap in time and space and the paucity of records, we do not get information about them as in the case of the Bāṇas whose drift from the region around Anantapur and Chittoor to Madurai in the south is attested at every stage and period all along the route.<sup>35</sup> It is possible that the Kaḷvar tribe had to move southwards due to the pressure of the Pallavas from the north. They raised their head perhaps when the southern powers were weak. This could have happened before the period of Siṃhaviṣṇu who was the first to subdue them.

32 *Contra* M. S. Govindasamy, *The Role of Feudatories in Pallava History*, pp. 38-67.

33 *Ahanānuṣu*, verses 61, 295, 311, 359 and 393.

34 *Ibid.*, verse 61. Maḷapulam in the text has been identified with Maḷanāḍu on the north bank of the Kāveri west of Tiruchchirappalli (*Tamil Lexicon*, s. v.). It is a far cry from Veṅgaḍam in the north to Maḷanāḍu in the south.

35 *A. R. Ep*, 1927, Paras. 89 and 91.



During this period we hear about a Kaḷamba (Kalabhra) king Accutavikkanta (Acyutavikrānta) who is said to have ruled over the Coḷa country from Kāveripaṭṭaṇa.<sup>36</sup> This information is given by Bhadanta Buddhadatta of Urāgapura (Uṛaiyūr near Tiruchchirappalli) in the colophon of his work *Abhidhammāvatāra*. He says that he was staying in a monastery built at Kāvēripaṭṭaṇa by Gaṇadāsa at whose request the work was composed. Buddhadatta is stated to have met Buddhaghoṣa, a contemporary of Sirikudda identified with Mahānāman, a fifth century king of Ceylon.<sup>37</sup> Another monastery at Bhutaman-galam in the Tamil country, built by Veṇudāsa, is also referred to by Buddhadatta who is said to have composed the *Vinaya-vinicchaya* there. The three Tamil verses (referred to above), said to have been composed, according to tradition, by the Cera, Coḷa and Pāṇḍya when they were imprisoned by the Kaḷvar king, attest to the immense power of the latter. Thus we find that, under Acyutavikrama, the Kalabhra king ruling over the Coḷa country,<sup>38</sup> Buddhism flourished in the land and was perhaps the court religion. It is the dominating influence of Buddhism and Jainism during this period that gave rise to the Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite revival under the Nāyanmār and the Āḷvār. We do not, however, have any information about the Coḷas and Pāṇḍyas during this period. While this negative evidence cannot be pressed too far, the fact that Pallava Siṃha-viṣṇu and Pāṇḍya Kaḍuṅgon had to subdue the Kalabhras (Kaḷvar) seems to suggest that the Pallavas and Pāṇḍyas were lying low only biding their time to strike at the Kaḷvar. That the Kalabhras were anti-Brāhmaṇical is evident from the statement in the Velvikudi plates that Kaḷabhran, i.e. the Kali-araiśan, cancelled a *brahmadeya* granted long ago by Palyāga-

36 Malalasekera, *Pali Literature of Ceylon*, pp. 106-110.

37 *Ibid.*, p. 96.

38 There is no evidence of his rule over Kerala.

Mudukudumip-Peruvaḷudi, a Pāṇḍy-ādhirāja.<sup>39</sup> After their subjugation by the Pallava and the Pāṇḍya, we find the Kaḷvar assuming a feudatory role under the former who, as already pointed out, placed them on the frontier region in the south of the Kāveri basin. The title Muttaraiyar appears in epigraphy at this stage, never singly but always coupled with the dynastic titles of their Pallava overlords. It is not unlikely, therefore, that the Kaḷvar had assumed this title when they were very powerful under Acyutavikrama who had conquered the three (*mu*) territories (*tarai*), i.e., of the Cera, Coḷa and Pāṇḍya. The earliest instance of such a title occurs at the beginning of the reign of Nandivarman Pallavamalla (c. 730 A. D.). Kāḍakka-Muttaraiyar was the chief whose identity is not known. His role in receiving Pallavamalla for his coronation at Kāñci speaks of his loyalty to the Pallava house. It must have taken considerable time for the consummation of this role of the Kaḷvar chiefs. Kāḍakka is apparently a corruption of Kāḍava, a name by which the Pallavas are designated in Tamil Literature and inscriptions. The next chief Kāḍuveṭṭi-Muttaraiyar was a feudatory of Dantivarman. 'Kāḍuveṭṭi' also stands for the Pallavas.

The earliest among the chiefs whose genealogy is delineated here was Cāttan whose queen Perumbidugu-Perundevi is referred to as the mother of Cāttan-Māraṇ *alias* Viḍelviḍugu-Viḷuppēradi-araiśan. Cāttan had apparently a title, the first word of which was *perumbidugu* and hence his queen was called Perumbidugu-Perundevi. The title Perumbidugu and Viḍelviḍugu were those of their Pallava overlords. Perumbidugu is first met with in the Kuram plates of Parameśvara-

<sup>39</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 300, lines 31-40. The fact that Veḷvikuḍi, the *brahmadeya* in Pāṇanurkuṟṟam is located round about Śoḷavandān near Madurai proves that the Pāṇḍya country was ruled over by Kaḷi-araiśan sometime before Kaḷuṅgon.

varman I, in the name of a channel called Perumbiḍugu-kāl dug up from the river Pālāṟu. Though it is difficult to say whether this was the title of Parameśvaravarman I or one of his predecessors, it is clear that the titles were first borne by the Pallavas<sup>40</sup> and these chiefs had, as their feudatories, added them to their official or dynastic designation such as Viḷuppe-rādi-araśar or Muttaraiyar. *Viḍelviḍugu* is first known to have been assumed as the sign manual by Nandivarman Pallavamalla.<sup>41</sup> These titles were assumed by later Pallava kings as it is clear from *Viḍelviḍugu* assumed by Nandivarman III. The next three important chiefs of this family are Kuvāvan-Māṟan also called Perumbiḍugu-Muttaraiyan, Māṟan Parameśvaran also called Iḷaṅgo-adiaraiśan, and Cuvaran-Māṟan *alias* Perumbiḍugu-Muttaraiyan. While no more information is available about the first two, there is a highly poetic account of the activities of the third preserved in the Sendalai pillar inscription, already referred to. The facts that can be sifted from these verses are : Cuvaran-Māṟan also called Perumbiḍugu-Muttaraiyan caused to be built a temple for Paḍāri. He bore the titles Śātrukesari, Kaḷvar-Kaḷvan, Atisāhasan, Abhimāna-dhīran and Tamarālayan.<sup>42</sup> He was the lord of Tañjai and

40 The earliest among such Pallava titles is Pagāppiḍugu (*SII*, Vol. III, p. 34), 'the thunderbolt which cannot be split', borne by Mahendravarman I. The Tiruchchirappalli inscription (*ibid.*, Vol. XII, No. 13, line 2) reads *Pugāppiḍugu* instead. *Piḍugu* is a Telugu word. In *Viḍelviḍugu*, the word *piḍugu* apparently transformed itself into *viḍugu* under the influence of the first word *viḍel*. One other title Mārppiḍugu, 'a thunderbolt to the opponents,' assumed by Dantivarman, is not met with among the Muttaraiyar. Kaḍumpiḍugu was the title of a Pallava king (*ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 64). Cf. also *Uṭpattiḍugu* (*A. R. Ep.*, 1917, No. 847). Some of these titles were also assumed by the Koḍumbāḷūr chiefs before they changed their allegiance to the Coḷas.

41 *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 135, Sec. J.

42 Śāttan-Māṟan is given as one other surname of this chief (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 136). But it is based on a suggested reading for the doubtful word *Tāttan*.

Vallam. He fought with the Pāṇḍya on behalf of the Pallavas whose feudatory he was. The battles were fought at Aḷundaiyūr, Kārai, Koḍumbāḷūr, Maṇṅgūr, Puḡaḷi, Śembonmāri, Kaṇṇanūr, Kāndaḷūr, Aṇṇalvayil, Tiṅgāḷūr and Veṅkoḍal in Taṇjaic-Cembula-nāḍu. Among these places, Aḷundaiyūr, Kārai, Koḍumbāḷūr, Maṇṅgūr, Kaṇṇanūr and Aṇṇalvāyil can be easily identified respectively with Aḷundai, Kārai, Koḍumbāḷūr, Maruṅgūr, Kaṇṇanūr and Annavāṣal, all within the former Puḍukkottai State and far to the south of Śendalai, the find-spot of the inscription. Among other places,<sup>43</sup> Śembonmāri is probably identical with a village of the same name further south in the Tiruvadanai Taluk of the Ramanathapuram District. It may be noted that these places are located on the southern borders of the territory of the Pallavas, the Muttaraiyar serving as their frontier guards against the Pāṇḍyas. In this context, it is difficult to suggest that the chief fought with the Ceras as stated in one of the verses. It is well-known that the Pallava arms were never carried into the Pāṇḍya country not to speak of the Cera fortifications.<sup>44</sup> Therefore the location of this Kāndaḷūr in the Cera country is untenable.<sup>45</sup> Nor had the Pallavas penetrated into the Koṅgu country. Hence the location of all the other places has to be looked for in the frontier area, though the search may be unsuccessful in the present state of our knowledge. Suffice it to say here that this Muttaraiyar chief had functioned as a strong feudatory of the Pallavas. His title Abhimānadhīra appears to have been coined after Nāyadhīra and Ekadhīra, the titles of Nandivarman

43 Tiṅgāḷūr has been identified with the place of the same name 80 miles north-east of Tanjavur (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 137). The context does not admit of its identification with Tiṅgāḷūr near Erode (*ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 243).

44 *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 148. The import of the verse, however, is not clear.

45 *Ibid.*, p. 137.

Pallavamālla.<sup>46</sup> The area ruled over by this chief extended from Śendalai or Nemam in the north upto the southern borders of the former Pudukkottai State in the south. We do not have similar information about the chiefs of the junior branch of this dynasty starting from Māṇan Kuvāvan and his son Kuvāvan Cāttan.

Besides those represented as scions of this family, there was a chief, evidently of this dynasty, who became independent and issued records dated in his own reign unlike other members of the family all of whom adopted titles reflecting their subordinate position under the Pallavas. This chief known as Iḷaṅgo-Muttaraiyar cannot be identified with any member of the family represented in the chart because one<sup>47</sup> of his inscriptions refers to a place called Ariṇjigaipuram in Aṭṭuppalḷi-Niyamam which can be identified with Tirukkāṭṭuppalḷi and Nemam in the Tanjavur Taluk. This Ariṇjigaipuram was perhaps so named after Pūdi Ariṇjigai. This is in preference to the possibility of its being so named after prince Ariṇjaya, the son of Coḷa Parāntaka I (907-55 A.D.), for the locality was under the direct rule of the Muttaraiyar, and Pūdi Aṇḍigai was a Muttaraiyar princess (see chart). On the basis of this identity, the reign of Iḷaṅgo-Muttaraiyar will have to be placed sometime at the end of Āditya's reign. Palæography supports this dating. Iḷaṅgo-Muttaraiyar's records have been found at Tiruccennampūṇḍi<sup>48</sup> in the Tanjavur Taluk and Tirukkoḍikāval<sup>49</sup> in the Kumbakonam Taluk, both in the Tanjavur District, and at Kīranūr<sup>50</sup> in the Kulattur Taluk in the Tiruchchirappalli District—all of them dated in the 13th year of his reign ; one

46 *SII*, Vol. II, pp. 342ff.

47 *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 529.

48 *Loc. cit.*

49 *A. R. Ep.*, 1931, No. 39. This is a re-engraved inscription.

50 *Ins. Pudukkottai State (Texts)*, No. 237.

other record from Tirukkodikāval<sup>51</sup> is dated in the 17th year and another from Śendalai<sup>52</sup> (Tanjavur Taluk) in the 18th. An inscription<sup>53</sup> from Tiruccatturai in the Tanjavur Taluk, not dated in the reign of any king, records the creation of an endowment of gold for a lamp called Uttamadāni by Tennavan-Iḷaṅgo-Muttaraiyar<sup>54</sup> *alias* [Ka]ṇḍan O . . perumān. It is not unlikely that, about the time of this record, the chief was almost independent and the epigraphs of his reign without the epithet *Tennavan* may be later than this inscription. The Kīranūr temple inscription dated in the reign of this chief refers to the temple as Uttamadāniśvaram. An inscription<sup>55</sup> from Melappaḷuvūr in the Udaiyarpalaiyam Taluk (Tiruchchirappalli District) dated in the 25th year (931-32 A.D.) in the reign of Coḷa Parāntaka I mentions Uttamadāni-caturvedi-maṅgalam. The names of the lamp Uttamadāni, the temple Uttamadāniśvaram and the village Uttamadāni-caturvedi-maṅgalam are all apparently connected with the title (Uttamadāni) of this Iḷaṅgo-Muttaraiyar. The last mentioned inscription indicates that the chief may have lived before the reign of Parāntaka.

*Monuments.* (1) *Tirumayam : Satyamūrti Temple.* The Muttaraiyar have left behind a few monuments of importance. The earliest extant monument associated with the Muttaraiyar is the Satyamūrti Perumāḷ cave temple at Tirumayam. Cāttan Māṇan's mother, Perumbiḍugu-Perundevi, is said to have renovated (*pudukku*) a structure, the details of which are not given. The inscription<sup>56</sup> recording this is engraved on a balus-

51 *A. R. Ep.*, 1931, No. 14. This is also a re-engraved inscription.

52 *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 448.

53 *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 618.

54 This title recalls a similar one of Bhūti *alias* Vikramakesari, i. e. Tennavan-Iḷaṅgo-velān.

55 *A. R. Ep.*, 1924, No. 359.

56 *Ins. Pudukkottai State (Texts)*, No. 13 ; *A. R. Ep.*, 1906, No. 402.

trade now lying in the *prākāra* on the western side in the Satyagirināthaperumāḷ temple at Tirumayam in the Tiruchchirappalli District. The inscription, assignable to the first half of the eighth century, records the renovation by the lady and the grant of the village of Aṇḍakūḍi with the rights of cultivation and possession for the maintenance of the central shrine (*uṇṇāḷigai*). Apparently this central shrine was renovated (*pudukku*). It may be identified with the rock-cut shrine housing the Yogāsanamūrti of Viṣṇu. The lady may have effected some repairs, and this presupposes the existence of this cave temple before the date of the inscription. The balustrade may have then formed part of the entrance into the cave temple. It is, however, not known whether this was originally excavated by the Muttaraiyar.

(2) *Niyamam : Piḍāri Temple.* The inscriptions on the pillars of the *maṇḍapa* in the Sundareśvara temple at Śendalai record that Cuvaran Māraṇ (i.e., Parameccuvaran-Māraṇ), also called Perumbiḍugu-Muttaraiyar, built a temple for Paḍāri. Other later inscriptions<sup>57</sup> on the same pillars refer to the deity Piḍāriyār of Niyama-mākāḷam (Mahākāḷa) thus indicating that the temple was at Niyamam which is four miles to the west of Śendalai. The deity at Śendalai is called Tirupperunduṇai-udaiya-mahādevar at Candralekai-Caturvedimaṅgalam in the inscriptions engraved in places other than the pillars of the *maṇḍapa*. Hence it is clear that these pillars have been shifted from Niyamam to Śendalai. No Piḍāri temple is now traceable at Niyamam. The name is obviously derived from *Bhaṭṭārikā*, through *Bhaṭṭāri* and *Paḍāri*.<sup>58</sup> It appears that what was applied first to the consort of the main deity in a Śiva

<sup>57</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1899, Nos. 10-13 ; *SII*, Vol. VI, Nos. 446-49.

<sup>58</sup> Its explanation suggested by Sri Mylai. S. Venkatasamy (*Bauddhamam Tamḷum*, p. 188) that the form of the word is *piḍāri*, i.e. one who mitigates all sufferings, does not take into account the inscriptional forms *Bhaṭṭāri* and *Paḍāri*.

temple came to be applied later to all the village goddesses.

(3) *Malaiyaḍippaṭṭi* : *Vāgīśvara* Temple also called Videlvidugu-Muttaraiyan, is a village deity, venerated, sometime before the 16th year of the reign of a ruler, a shrine (*talai*) out of the hill called *Malaiyaḍippaṭṭi* had the Bhaṭāra (i.e., Śiva) consecrated. The ruler made also a grant of land, the details of which are in an inscription<sup>59</sup> recording these details is on the rock-cut cave temple of the deity. *Malaiyaḍippaṭṭi* in the Kulattur Taluk (Taluk). This shrine is of a *maṇḍapa* projecting from the hind wall. There are four pillars and two pilasters in the front and the sides. The shrine goes up to the second row of pillars in the interior. There is a Nandi in the shrine with a Nandi on a pedestal. The entire shrine is on the same rock 'forming an integral part of the rock'. There is a cistern cut into the floor of the shrine. The spout of the *liṅga* obviously to receive the water of the sacred bath. The panels on the walls show relief figures of the Saptamātrikā group consisting of Śiva, Viṣṇu and Mahiṣasuramardini. There are two *dvārapālakas* on either side of the entrance. One of them is said to have a bull's horn. The shrine is a *maṇḍapa* probably added to the shrine in the *nagara* times.<sup>60</sup>

59 *Ins. Pudukkottai State (Texts)*, No. 18.

60 See K. R. Srinivasan, *Cave-temples of the Pallavas*, pp. 40 and 132. See also *A Manual of the Pallava Architecture*, Part II, Plate XXVI (a), pp. 1059-60. The figure with the bull's horn is a person of rank probably the chief who built the temple. *Pallava Architecture*, Part II, Plate XXVI (a), does not hold good. K. R. Srinivasan states that the temples are dated by their inscriptions in their own



The placing of Nandi, the cistern inside the sanctum and some of the sculptures on the panels are considered to reflect local characteristics.

(4) *Narttamalai : Paḷiyiḷṣvaram Temple.* Cāttan-Paḷiyiḷ, the son of Videlvidugu-Muttaraiyar identified by us with Kuvāvan-Cāttan, excavated a rock-cut cave temple in Narttamalai in the Kulattur Taluk (Tiruchchirappalli District). This temple bears the name Paḷiyiḷṣvaram after himself. The inscription<sup>61</sup> referring to the excavation of this cave temple by him records that in the seventh year of the reign of Nṛpatuṅga, a *mukhamāṇḍapa*, bull (*iṣavam*), a bull-shed (*iṣavak-kotṭil*) and a *balippīḍam* (*bali-piṭha*) were caused to be made for this temple by his daughter Paḷiyiḷ-Ciṇṇanaṅgai, wife of Mallan Anāntan *alias* Mīnavan Tamiḷadiyaraian. The epigraph is engraved on the base of a platform in front of the cave-shrine which should have once formed the base of the *mukha-māṇḍapa* referred to in it. The syntax of the text appears to imply that the structural extensions for the cave-temple were made in the 7th year of Nṛpatuṅga's reign and that the cave-temple had been in existence before that date. It must be remembered that not all cave temples had structural additions even of the first stage of its construction. Therefore an interval between the excavation and the extensions can be postulated, though it could not be long. It may be noted that the father excavated the cave and the daughter made additions to it and also created an endowment for worship and offerings.

The temple has very few architectural features to be noted.<sup>62</sup> The plinth of the *māṇḍapa*, which is the only extant structure apart from the excavated cave, contains *upāna*, *jagati*, *vr̥tta-*

ence to the ruling Pallava monarchs and their regnal years (*op. cit.*, p. 40). The correct position is that the Muttaraiyar, barring one, have no inscriptions citing their own regnal years and this one has no cave temple to his credit.

61 *SII*, Vol. XII, No. 65.

62 S. R. Balasubrahmanyam, *Early Cola Art*, Plates 12-a and 12-b.

*kumuda* (*kuḍappaḍai*) and *vari*. The thick *vari* contains the *bhūtas* in its frieze. The *ṛttakumuda* contains the inscription discussed above. The flooring of the plinth has been disturbed since it now contains stones of different sizes and uneven surface. There is now a bull on it. The sculptures of *dvārapālakas* 'belonging to this temple' are said to have been subsequently excavated.<sup>63</sup> They are two-armed and not embellished. They have comely shape, wide chest and raised shoulders. The surface of the sculptures is not well polished suggesting a crude representation.\* They bear a high crown, ear-rings, aura, *hāra*, *yajñopavita*, bracelets and loin-cloth.

(5) *Narttamalai : Vijayālayacolīśvara Temple*. There is an inscription in characters of the ninth century on the *tripaṭṭa* below the *dvārapālaka* to the proper right of the entrance into the temple. It reads—

- 1 Svasti Śrī Cāttam-Pūdiy = āna Iḷaṅgo-
- 2 [a]di-araiyar eḍuppitta kaṭ-ṛaḷi malai-i-
- 3 ḍitt = aḷiya Mallan Viḍuman āyina Te-
- 4 nnavan Tamiḷ-adi-araiyan pudukku.<sup>64</sup>

The text records that Cāttam-Pūdi *alias* Iḷaṅgo-adiaraiyar constructed the stone temple and, owing to its destruction by rains, it was renovated by Mallan Viḍuman *alias* Tennavan-Tamiḷadi-araiyan.

It will be seen that Cāttam-Pūdi of this record is identical with Pūdi, the son of Kuvāvan Cāttan of the Malaiyadippaṭṭi epigraph discussed above. His full title was Viḍelviḍugu-Iḷaṅgo-adiaraiyan, of which only the latter part is given here. The record is not dated in the regnal year of any king. This chief

63 *A Manual of the Pudukkottai State*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 1071.

\* [ This was sometimes the case when the images were meant to be painted.—Ed. ]

64 Balasubrahmanyam, *op. cit.*, Plate 11-b, and also the text given at p. 50, which, however, fails to note the rectification of an error made previously in the *Manual of the Pudukkottai State*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 1074.

is referred to as the father of the princess Pūdi-Aṇḍigai in an inscription dated in the 11th year in the reign of Nandivarman II.<sup>65</sup> Thus even though the present record does not refer to any king,<sup>66</sup> it may be surmised that the chief was a subordinate of the Pallavas up to the time of building the temple. For, it must be noted that the inscription records only its renovation and not its foundation. The interval between the two might have accounted for the omission of the first part of his title in the draft of the text. Thus the construction of the temple may be considered to be an event of the reign of Nandivarman III in the first half of the ninth century. The temple was destroyed due to rains. Mallan Viḍuman was evidently a contemporary of Coḷa Vijayālaya since his brother's<sup>67</sup> daughter Anantam Paḷiyili figures as a donatrix in an inscription<sup>68</sup> of Rājakesarivarman who may be identified with Āditya I. It is therefore possible that Mallan Viḍuman got the temple renovated and named it after his overlord Vijayālaya. It is thus clear that the monument should be assigned not to the Cola times, but to the period when the Pallavas under Nandivarman III were still rulers of the area. The name of the temple Vijayālayacoḷīśvaram is recorded in a later Pāṇḍyan inscription of the thirteenth century.<sup>69</sup> The name could have been given by the renovator Mallan Viḍuman as a vassal of Vijayālaya and this later Pāṇḍyan inscription is the only evidence for the name. Therefore it is to be surmised that Cāttan Pūdi, the founder of the temple who was anterior to Vijayālaya, could not have given the

65 *SII*, Vol. VII, No. 924. The chief's name has been wrongly read as Vikrama-pūdi for Cāttan Pūdi.

66 The absence of the king's name or his regnal year in this record, which should be assigned to Vijayālaya's time, is an eloquent testimony to the disturbed condition of the period.

67 His name is Mallan Anantan. For his connections with the Muttaraiyar family, see chart.

68 *A. R. Ep.*, 1940-41, No. 211.

69 *Ins. Pudukkottai State (Texts)*, No. 282, p. 163, line 5.

present name. He might have named it Nandiśvaram after his overlord or Pūdiśvaram<sup>70</sup> after himself, though there is no epigraphic evidence in support of either. Renaming of a temple or deity is not unknown in Tamil epigraphy.<sup>71</sup> Thus barring the non-existing Piḍāri temple, this may be considered the earliest surviving structural temple attributable to the Muttaraiyar under the Pallavas.

Since it is not recorded whether the renovator introduced any new feature in this temple, we have to find it out on the basis of its features.<sup>72</sup> The temple consists of a central shrine facing west surrounded by seven subsidiary shrines.<sup>73</sup> All such shrines are generally called *vimāna*<sup>74</sup> in the inscriptions and architectural works. The main shrine here is a square and consists of three storeys topped by the *grīva* and the *sikhara*. The base of the first storey could be seen only from the *tripaṭṭa* upwards. Then follow the features mentioned below : *kaṇṭha*, *paṭṭigai*, *kāl*, *palagai*, *podigai* and *kapota*. There are no niches on the walls of this storey to provide for setting up images. The *kāl* (pilasters) have a rolled *taḍi* and an extended *palagai* above it. The cornice is heavy and surmounted by a conti-

70 It is uncertain whether the reference to Tiruppūdiśvaram of Koḍumbāṭṭūr in an inscription from Tiruppalātturai (*SII*, Vol. VIII, No. 555) presupposes the existence of another Pūdiśvaram before the reign of Parakesarivarman of that record, who may be identified with Parāntaka I.

71 Cf. No. 292 of 1917 with Nos. 276 and 294 of 1917. Ādityeśvaram-udaiyār, the names of the temple and god, are substituted by Māmbaḷam-udaiya-nāyanār. See also *A. R. Ep.*, 1962-63, intro., p. 29, and Nos. B 651, 653, 654 and 650.

72 The description of this temple given here is based on the *Manual of the Pudukkottai State*, Vol. II, Part II, illustration facing p. 1068.

73 Of these, there is no trace, except the basement, of a shrine to the south of the main shrine, while the others could be seen in full or in parts.

74 This word is used here in the sense of 'the entire shrine' from the *upāna* to the *stūpi* as supported by epigraphy, and not in the restricted sense of the superstructure as held by several authors.

nuous frieze of *bhūtagaṇas* all around. Over the edge of this roof runs a parapet wall, the top of which, bearing the appearance of a cornice with *kūḍu*, is showing the roof-tops, the *pañjara* and *śāla* from one end of it to the other on every side. This wall is extended also on the front *maṇḍapa* which is rectangular unlike the main shrine. The *maṇḍapa* resembles the main shrine in all its external features. The parapet wall bears, on its nearly central part, a thin belt-like *paṭṭigai* running all around, interrupted only by elegant jutting figures of dancing women right under the *kūḍu* of the *koṣṭha* and the *śāla*. The space between the *bhūta* frieze and the edge of the top of the parapet wall is filled in by miniature reproductions of the features of the wall below. The roof of the first storey forms the base (*tala*) of the second which rises above the *garbhagṛha* in a diminishing proportion. It consists of a square showing only the features of the wall such as pilasters (*kāl*), *taḍi*, *palagai*, *podigai* and *kapota*. This cornice is surmounted by a *bhūta* frieze. The parapet wall over the edge of the base of this storey is repeated here in appropriate dimensions. But the *pañjara* and *śāla* on this wall are more marked in their appearance ; besides there are two *śālas* in the middle on each side with two dancing figures below the *kūḍu* of the *śāla* unlike that in the lower parapet wall. Another storey rises on this *tala* ending up with a circular cornice instead of the square ones seen on the storeys below. This storey also repeats all the features of the wall. The circular cornice with *kūḍu* decoration and a *bhūta* frieze on it forms the base for the *grīva* and *sikhara*. Four bulls are perched looking out from the points of this base corresponding to the four corners of the lower storey. The *sikhara* above the *grīva* is in the shape of a semi-spherical dome. The circular *grīva* has four niches at the cardinal points and they have a big ornamental *kūḍu* above each with a lion-face topping it. There are smaller *kūḍus* at the other four points.

The *garbhagṛha* is circular and enclosed by a solid wall about five feet thick. It has a diameter of 8 feet 6 inches inside and a height of 8 feet. The circular wall is enclosed by a square wall of 29-feet side which leaves a narrow circumambulatory passage less than two feet at the widest between the two walls. Even this passage is intercepted by four pillars at the corners. The front *maṇḍapa* which is an integral part of the building is extended from a point at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet on either side of the front (west) wall of the central shrine. It is oblong in plan. It has six pillars with cubical upper and lower parts and octagonal middle part. The corbels of these pillars bear roll ornamentation with a medial band. The walls of the *maṇḍapa* on the inside bear the same features as on the outside. There are two *dvārapālakas* on either side of the entrance into this *maṇḍapa*. The lintel bears an elegant floral design. The subshrines are miniature replicas of the main shrine, without the two storeys of the superstructure.

Architecturally speaking this temple is comparable, as observed by K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, with the Tripurāntakeśvara, Mukteśvara and Mataṅgeśvara temples of Kāñci.<sup>75</sup> The Mataṅgeśvara,<sup>76</sup> which is also a *tritāla-vimāna*, appears to show the local form from which this temple might have evolved. The other main points of similarity are : (1) The front *maṇḍapa* is an integral part of the temple. The *śāla* and *pāñjara* on the edges of the three sides of the roof of the first storey are extended to the roof of the *maṇḍapa*. (2) The walls of storeys rising above the *garbhagṛha* are sufficiently high to distinguish them from the features on the edges of their roofs. It will be seen that in the Pallava temples such as the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ and the Mukteśvara at Kāñci, the height is not enough to distinguish the tops of the edge features on the one hand

<sup>75</sup> *The Colas*, 2nd ed., p. 698.

<sup>76</sup> See Longhurst, *Pallava Architecture*, Plate VIII-b.

and the cornices of the respective storeys. (3) There are no niches on the walls of the three storeys to provide for subsidiary deities in both the temples. (4) The *grīva* figures in both the temples serve as the only indication of the nature of the deity inside (i.e., Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava).

The differences between the two listed below point to the possible process of evolution. (1) The *maṇḍapa* has an open front unlike that in the Vijayālayaśrīśvaram. This has given rise to the location of an entrance and therefore of the *dvārapālaka* on the front wall of the *maṇḍapa* in the latter temple instead of on the front wall of the central shrine in the former. The open front has been transferred to the point of entrance into the circumambulatory passage around the central shrine in the latter temple. (2) The linking of the *śāla* and *pañjara* on the edges of the storeys<sup>77</sup> has become more prominent so that these features got merged or suppressed in the parapet wall unlike the case of the Mataṅgeśvara and earlier temples. It will be seen that this effect is due to the thorough alignment of the undersides of the roofs of the *śāla* and *pañjara*. The individuality of these features has thus been lost.

The sculptures in the temple deserve some notice. The portrait-sculptures of the *dvārapālakas* on either side attract the attention of the visitor. They are two-armed, 'five feet in height facing front, but body and one leg flexed towards the entrance'. One of their two hands rests on the club and the other is held in a *vismaya* pose. The other features such as the crown, aura, horns, *hāra*, sacred thread, bracelets, loins, half-trousers are all very pronounced. The temple faces west. The beauty of this front is due to the effect created by the *dvārapālakas*, the three and the four dancing figures of the two parapet walls and the *grīva* figures. This is absent in any other temple of the earlier or later period. The loss of the

<sup>77</sup> Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 749.

individuality of the *śāla* and *pañjara* on the parapet walls referred to above and the absence of divine figures below their *kūḍu* seem to have been sufficiently compensated by the geometrical pattern of their placements in relation to the *grīva* figure. The circular base of the *grīva* reminds the visitor in the inner shrine even before entering it. The niches at the cardinal points of the *grīva* bear the images of Umāsaḥita Śiva on the west, Brahmā (?) on the north, Nārāyaṇa on the east and Viṇādhara-Dakṣiṇā-mūrti<sup>78</sup> on the south suggesting the development of the *koṣṭha* deities on the niches in the wall of the first storey in the temples of the later period. The erection of the subshrines in the absence of the deities on the walls of the temple is noteworthy and appears to mark a stage in the evolution of the temple plans during this period.<sup>79</sup>

We have to decide now whether any of these features could be the renovator's introduction. In the first place, we may consider the portrait-sculptures of the *dvārapālakas*. These two, as already mentioned, bear pronounced characteristics, whereas their counterparts in the Paṭiyilīśvaram, excavated by the brother of the founder of this temple, bear comparatively crude and simple features.<sup>80</sup> The *dvārapālakas* of the Vijayālayacolīśvara temple are slender and elegant in form while the other two are sturdy and robust, reminiscent of an ancient tribe that the Kaḷvar were. It is therefore possible that these were substituted for the originals which were probably damaged in the rains. Another feature which could have been introduced by Mallan Viḍuman, the renovator, is the raising of the four pillars in the circumambulatory passage around the central

78 See *A Manual of the Pudukkottai State*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 1073, note, which says that the sound-box at the lower end of the *viṇā* is rectangular and not circular.

79 See Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 698.

80 The Nṛsiṃha sculpture in the structural temple is also an early one (see *Early Cola Art*, Part I, Plate 13-b).



shrine. These were possibly erected by the renovator in order to sustain the heavy superstructure which was perhaps damaged in the rains.

(6) *Pūvālaikkuḍi : Puṣpavaneśvara Temple.* Puṣpavaneśvara is the modern name of the deity. One<sup>81</sup> of the early inscriptions dated in the reign of a Parakesarivarman calls the deity the Paramēśvara of Pūvālaikkuḍi. The earliest inscription at the entrance into the cave seems to refer to the excavation of this rock-cut cave temple by Pūdi-Kaḷari also called Amarunṇi-Muttaraiyan.<sup>82</sup> This chief is evidently a son of Cāttan-Pūdi, the founder of the so-called Vijayālayacoḷiśvaram. The temple consists of a cubical rock-cut cell excavated by the Muttaraiya chief and a *maṇḍapa* constructed later by a priest of the temple in the reign of the Parakesarivarman mentioned above. There are shallow niches flanked by pilasters on either side of the entrance, carrying bevelled corbels. This temple does not otherwise call for any special notice.

(7) *Uttamadāniśvara Temples at Kīranūr and Kīḷttaniyam.* There are two Śiva temples, one at Kīranūr and the other at Kīḷttaniyam. The former is now called Uttamanātheśvara, while the latter continues to be called Uttamadāniśvara. The title Uttamadāni being assumed by Iḷaṅgo-Muttaraiyar has been discussed above. This chief seems to have founded the two temples as suggested by the name of the deity. Though there is no statement to this effect, the suggestion is supported by the architectural aspects of the temples. We have fixed this chief chronologically after Coḷa Āditiya I (871-98 A. D.) and before Parāntaka I (907-955 A. D.). The *vṛtta-kumuda* makes its appearance in the temple at Kīranūr. The *haṁsa-vari* below the *kapota* is another new feature to be noticed in this.

81 *Ins. Pudukkottai State (Texts)*, No. 42.

82 *A. R. Ep.*, 1907, No. 142, also *A Manual of the Pudukkottai State*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 1188. The identification of the chief proposed there is, however, not correct.

The plain walls without the *koṣṭhās* for subsidiary deities on the central shrine and the circular *grīva* and *sikhara* appear to be the common features between the temple at Nārttāmalai and the present one. Besides, the *vimānadevatas* are the same, i.e., Brahmā in the north, Viṣṇu in the west and Dakṣiṇāmūrti in the south. The temple at Kīṭṭaniyam has the following features : *upāna*, *jagati*, *tripaṭṭa*, *kaṇṭha* (which is absent at Kīranūr) and the rest as at Kīranūr. The *sikhara* is curvilinear. The *grīva* has no images in its niches at present. There are certain loose sculptures lying in the premises and some of them like Jyeṣṭhā and the two-armed Dakṣiṇāmūrti may be attributed to the Muttaraiyar. There are subsidiary shrines as in the case of the Vijayālayačoḷisvaram. These two temples remind us of the Nārttāmalai temple in respect of some features. They resemble in their effect the *ekatala* temples at Panaṅguḍi, Kaliyapattī, Enādi, Virālūr,<sup>83</sup> etc.—all in the former Pudukkottai State, assignable to about the latter half of the ninth century. These modest temples appear to represent local architectural types without being influenced by any outside movement. They seem to reflect the subdued role of the Muttaraiyar in contemporary politics and also of the Coḷas. The proliferation in architecture and sculpture followed the emergence of the latter as a mighty force.

*Literature.* The Muttaraiyar are referred to in Tamil literature. The *Nāḷaḍiyār*, a famous anthology containing four hundred stanzas set in the *Veṇḇā* metre refers to the Perumuttaraiyar in two stanzas. The first (No. 200) records the munificent gifts of sumptuous food given gladly by them to the needy. The second (No. 296) states that, while the wealthy must be considered to be poor if they do not share their wealth with the needy, the Perumuttaraiyar do not go abegging even if they are poor. The first is in praise of their munificence.

<sup>83</sup> *Early Cola Art*, Part I, Plates 18a, 19a, 20-22 and 24a.

The second puts, in a telling way, how they had once become reduced to poverty before the stanza was composed.\* It is possible that the two poems were composed during the course of their history from their rise to their fall. Since both the poems are included in the same anthology, it will not be unreasonable to surmise that the authors of these two poems as also some other authors whose poems have been included in this anthology were patronised by the Muttaraiyar. It may be noted that most of the verse inscriptions recorded on the Śendalai pillars are in the *Veṇbā* metre. The inscriptions record also the names of the poets who composed them. They were Vel-Namban of Pāccil, Ācāryar Aniruddar, Iḷamperumānār of Koṭṭāru, Kuvāvan Kañjan<sup>84</sup> *alias* Amarunṇilai of Pavadāya-maṅgalam in Kiḷārk-kūrṇam. It is not unlikely that poems composed by these poets found their way into the anthology, the compilation of which may be placed about the end of the ninth century. The various verses of the anthology will have to be assigned to a period from about the fifth century A. D., when they were at the height of their power, to about the end of the ninth when they were reduced.<sup>85</sup>

*Territory* : The region ruled over by the Muttaraiyar does not seem to have any separate name. There is, however, a solitary reference to Muttaraiyar-nādu. The inscription<sup>86</sup> dated in the 26th year in the reign of Nṛpatuṅga describes the donor Pūdi-Dhīran *alias* Kāḍavadiyaraian, a Vijayanallulān

\* [ This may refer to one who lost his wealth or chiefdom.—Ed.]

84 Kuvāvan in his name is suggestive of one of the forebears of the chief in whose honour he composed the poem.

85 See *Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index*, p. xi, where the author states, "That the *Nāḷaḍiyār* mentions them (Muttaraiyar) itself is proof that the Muttaraiyar were an important people during the Sangam age, too." We have shown above that the name Muttaraiyar could have been adopted by these chiefs from about the fifth century A. D. only.

86 *SII*, Vol. XI, No. 368.

## HINDUISM AND BUDDHISM IN SOUTH- EAST ASIA\*

N. DUTT

Every nation or tribe has a religious and traditional culture of its own, and it has to be evaluated from its own standpoint, and not from that of the cultural level of another nation or tribe. The people of every country have a basic personality, a national character, and it cannot easily be changed, though it may be superimposed by a foreign culture. In some countries, such acculturation may produce a lasting effect ; but generally, with the weakening of such cultural forces, the indigenous culture is revived. The Indian priests and monks introduced in South-East Asia Brāhmaṇism and Buddhism as also the art and architecture of the periods of the Guptas, Pallavas and Pālas ; but all of these underwent local changes and incorporated many features of the indigenous cultures. The art and architecture of Angkor, Pagan, Central Java and Campā are different from those of India. Manu's law-code was utilised by the South-East Asians in their own ways. The caste system found no place in those areas. Most of the domestic rites and ceremonies of the people remained unchanged in spite of the adoption of Śivaism or Buddhism. Not unoften, the animistic beliefs persisted and the ancient traditional rites were performed secretly. In writing the history of these countries, one should bear in mind that each country is worthy of consideration in its own merit and not merely in its contact with a foreign country. At the same time, it should be remembered

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\*[ This was meant to be delivered as a lecture at the Centre of Advanced Study of our Department ; but the lecture could not be delivered owing to the author's illness.—Ed.]

that the archaeological discoveries, specially images, temples and inscriptions reflect the culture of the royalty and the nobility, and not exactly of the common people whose culture has to be culled out from local traditions and chronicles. Though it is a fact that people ultimately followed the king, still the attention of historians should be directed to the genius of the common man, his desires and aspirations.

It is rather striking that, of the two great ancient countries of Asia, viz., India and China, it fell to the lot of the Indians to propagate their religious beliefs, art and architecture in the South-East Asian countries. This is mainly due to the fact that it was the common people of India, the traders, priests and monks, and not the kings and the nobility that carried the message of India to these countries, while it was just the opposite in the case of China. Tonking and Annam (now Viet Nam) absorbed Chinese culture and that was after they had been annexed to the Chinese empire, from 111 B. C. to 939 A. D. [sic—Ed.]. There were revolts from the Vietnamese kings from time to time ; but these were suppressed in asserting China's overlordship on the countries than in propagating its culture which, therefore, remained confined to the literate minority and did not reach the masses who retained their own language, customs, beliefs and forms of worship. The approach of the Indians, on the other hand, was devoid of any political implication. Though we learn of the Coḷas invading some of the areas, it is clear that they had no intention of conquest or annexation.

The Indian names of kings and provinces suggest colonisation by the Indian rulers. The fact, however, was otherwise. In many cases, the Indian princes, who were not entitled to succeed to the throne, went to these countries out of an adventurous spirit, entered into matrimonial alliances there, and ultimately scooped out a kingdom for themselves. They

became naturalised in the country of their adoption, and their descendants formed the dynasties without any fresh Indian importation. The local princes perhaps preferred Indian names out of their regard for the country of origin of their dynasties. The Brāhmaṇa priests accompanying these kings also settled there, maintaining of course, their sanctity and learning as far as possible in the circumstances. The spirit of the monks was mainly philanthropy and love of earning merit, though it sometimes ended in material gains. What is meant to say is that there was fusion of Indian and local cultures and not an imposition of one upon another.

The main cause of expansion of Indian culture was commercial enterprise. There were Indian sea-men and traders who ventured out into the sea in large boats to procure gold by selling their goods in foreign countries. It is this search for gold that led the Indians to use indiscriminately the name *Suvarṇabhūmi* or *dvīpa*—the Gold-land and Silver-land of Ptolemy.

An impression has been generally left in our minds that the trade and commerce between India and the South-East Asian countries were carried on from the Indian side only. This is not the whole truth. It is very likely that the people of these countries, being expert navigators, used to come to India and were partly responsible for importing Indian ideas and goods to their countries.

There were two routes from India to China, one by sea and the other by land. It seems that the sea-route was considered safer for valuable goods of merchandise than the land-routes which crossed high mountain ranges and regions covered by forest. The land-route lay through Assam and Upper Burma to China, while the sea-route started from various coastal towns of India, e.g., Kaveripaṭṭanam, Pondicherry and Karkamuni\*

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\*[Probably Karikal is intended. The identification of Camara, Poduca and Sopatma is doubtful.—Ed.]

according to the *Periplus* ; Chicacole in the Ganjam District\* according to Fa-hien and I-tsing ; Broach, Sopara and Tāmralipti according to the Jātakas. Coedes is of opinion that all the parts of India contributed more or less to the expansion of Indian culture ; but it is the south that played the greatest part.

Quaritch Wales has arrived at the conclusion that there were four main waves of Indian cultural expansion, viz., the Amarāvati (2nd and 3rd centuries A. D.), the Gupta (4th to 6th centuries A. D.), the Pallava (c. 550-750 A. D.) and the Pāla (c. 750-900 A. D.). He adds to these a fifth—the later Pālas, during whose reign there was disintegration of the monasteries and dispersal of the Buddhist monks. The impact of these waves on the countries was necessarily not uniform, on account of both times and circumstances. Out of the two religions, Śivaism and Buddhism, it is the latter which earned the greatest popularity and extended its influence over a much larger area than that of Śivaism. It should, however, be noted that the stories of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* became popular in almost all the countries and that the literate had a fancy for the use of Sanskrit and Pali languages in Pallava or Grantha scripts.

In spite of the contact of India with the South-East Asian countries for over one thousand years from about the 5th century A. D.,\*\* it must be admitted that the Indian culture remained there more or less assimilative, and did not replace the local genius, and it is for this reason that, with the lessening of contact with India, Śivaism and Buddhism were almost wiped out of most of the countries by the propagation of Islam from the Tamil land and Gujarat, as also from Persia and

\*[Srikakulam is now the headquarters of a new District in Andhra Pradesh, while Ganjam is a District of Orissa.—Ed.]

\*\*[The date must be a few centuries earlier as the author himself indicates elsewhere.—Ed.]

Arabia. There are instances of frequent marriages of Tamil Muslims with the families of the Malacca Sultanate as well as those of Java and Sumatra. Now let us deal with each country of South-East Asia as briefly as possible.

*Sumatra and Java.* Sumatra, one of the largest islands of the Malay Archipelago, came into contact with India, according to Heine Geldern, about the 2nd century A. D. He thinks that the stone-torso of a Buddha statue found on a hill near Palembang reveals Amarāvati influence and should be dated as early as the 5th century A. D. In the Chinese annals, it is stated that a kingdom called Kan-t'o-li, identified with Sumatra, was ruled during 454-64 A. D. by an Indian king called Śrī-Vara-narendra, who sent an Indian envoy to China, and that after him, a Buddhist king and his son Vijayavarnam were reigning there about 502 A. D.\* The Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien (414 A. D.) did not find much of Buddhism in Sumatra; but two centuries later, I-tsing (671 A. D.) noticed the presence of a large number of Hīnayāna monks. I-tsing spent there six months to study Sanskrit grammar. On his way back to China in 685 A. D., he remained there for four years for translating some Buddhist Sanskrit texts into Chinese. The learned commentator Gunavarman, a prince of Kashmir, also paid a visit to Java in the 5th century A. D. I-tsing gives us the important information that he came from China to Śrīvijaya in a Persian sea-going vessel and from Śrīvijaya to India in a vessel of the king of Śrīvijaya, proving thereby that there was maritime trade between Persia and China *via* the Islands of Sumatra and Java and that the traders of Śrīvijaya came to India in their own vessels.

The discoveries of images, so far made in these islands, are mostly of Mahāyānic Bodhisattvas of the period between the seventh to the tenth century. One of the oldest inscriptions found

\*[ Vijayavarman, son of the Buddhist king Gautama Subhadra, sent an embassy to China in 519 A. D.—Ed.]



here is of 683 A. D. in the old Malayan dialect interspersed with Sanskrit words. It records the donation of a garden and ends with the Buddhistic form of seeking blessings for others.

About 775 A. D., the Śailendra dynasty of Śrīvijaya was expanding their territory to Java and Cambodia. Coedes and other scholars now hold the view that the Śailendras were Javanese and not Indian. The kings of the dynasty adopted Mahāyāna Buddhism and were instrumental in propagating the religion in Malaya Archipelago. The magnificent temples of Borobudur (*Bhūmisambhāra Bhūdhara*=mountain of accumulation of virtues in the ten stages of perfection acquired by the Bodhisattvas) erected by the Śailendras speak eloquently of the great popularity of Buddhism.

The sculptures of Borobudur are Javanese though modelled on the Gupta style. Śivaism was popular in Java. King Sañjaya (732 A. D.) of Mataram was a Śivaite. Pañcapana, the successor of Sañjaya, however, was a Buddhist. He erected the temple Caṇḍī Kalasan, in which the image of Tārā, identified with his queen, was installed. This temple compares favourably with the Borobudur monument. The Śailendra king Bālaputra erected a monastery at Nālandā during the reign of the Pālas, and two years after him, king Śrī-Culāmaṇi-varmadeva erected another Buddhist temple at Negapatam on the Coromandel Coast during the reign of the Coḷa king Rājarāja.\* With the decline of power of the Śailendras, Śivaism was revived in Central Java to the detriment of Buddhism.

The Coḷa king Rājarāja and his son Rājendra led expeditions against Sumatra and Malay Peninsula, the details of

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\*[Bālaputra built his monastery at Nālandā during the reign of Devapāla about 850 A. D. while the monastery at Negapatam was begun by Cūḍāmaṇivarman in or shortly before the 21st year of Rājarāja's reign, i.e. c. 1005 A.D., but was completed by the latter's son Śrī-Māravijayottuṅgavarman. Rājarāja's son Rājendra led expeditions against the Śailendra empire.—Ed]

which are recorded in the Tanjore inscription of 1030-31 A. D. The Coḷa raid was not meant for conquest of the territories as will be evident from the fact that a new Śailendra king called Śrī-Deva was installed in place of the one captured by the Coḷas. There was another Coḷa raid on the Malay Peninsula in 1068-69 A. D. ; but at that time, the Coḷa kings entered into a friendly alliance with the kings of Śrīvijaya.

The internal quarrel among the rulers of Java and Sumatra as also the invasion of the Coḷas brought about the disintegration of Śivaism and Buddhism, paving the way for the advent of Islam and, about the thirteenth century, Islam penetrated into the island of Sumatra. For a long time, India maintained close connection with Sumatra and Java, as evident from the establishment of the Buddhist monasteries by the Śailendras in India, the Coḷa invasion of the eleventh century, the Tamil inscription (1088 A. D.) of Lubu-Tua, the prevalence of Dravidian tribal names among the Bataks, and lastly the introduction of Islamic culture of Shīaite tinge by the Muslim teachers of Gujarat. Buddhism also had a long history in these islands. Besides I-tsing's testimony, there are evidences to show that a Buddhist scholar named Śākyakīrti was the author of a treatise on Śrīvijaya ; that the famous Ātiśa studied at Śrīvijaya from 1011 to 1023 A. D. with Dharmakīrti who was the head of the Saṅgha in Sumatra ; and that the kings Kṛtanagara, Maulivarman and Ādityavarman (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries A.D.) supported the Kālacakrayāna of Tantric Buddhism. To these may be added the finds of images of Tārā, the Bodhisattvas and Dhyāni-Buddhas and even of the Tantric deity Heruka and those of the remnants of a few monasteries. Buddhist inscriptions have been found both in the Sanskrit and Kavi languages mixed with Malay in the Nāgarī and Kavi characters.

*Campā.* The Chams of Campā, belonging to the Malay-Polynesian group, occupied Central and Southern Annam, i.e.,

excluding Tonking and Cochin China. They were a warlike people and carried on frequent fights with the Chinese who also invaded the country from time to time. Though the name *Campā* appears to be Indian, there is nothing to show that it had any connection with ancient Campā near Bhagalpur.

It is not known exactly whether the Indians reached the place directly from India or from some of the South-East Asian countries ; but there is no doubt that toward the end of the ninth century, a powerful wave of Indo-Javanese influence reached Campā.

The earliest known Indian king of Campā was Śrīmāra (Kiu-lien) who organised the Chams into a powerful tribe. He is claimed as an ancestor by the author of the Vo-canĥ Sanskrit inscription written in a script similar to that of Rudradāman's record at Gīmar and the inscriptions of Kanheri.\* The first historical king, about whom there is Chinese testimony, was Bhadravarman (Fan-hu-ta) who built the famous Mi-son sanctuary about 400 A. D. installing there Śiva-Bhadreśvarasvāmīn. The sanctuary was burnt down in 575 A. D. It was rebuilt by Bhadravarman's descendant, Śambhuvarman, who established peace and prosperity in the country after driving out the Chinese raiders. Some time later, another king of this dynasty, Satyavarman built the temple called Po-nagar near Nha Trang and installed there an image of the goddess Umā. In the subsidiary temples of this locality, there are inscriptions in Cham and Sanskrit. From the eleventh century, the Indian rulers were gradually losing their hold on the people and, by 1470 A. D., they were ousted from Campā by the Annamites. Though the Indian rulers left the country, Sanskrit continued to be the medium of expression for literary purposes.

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\*[ For the controversy on the date of the inscription, cf. references cited by Coedes in *The Indianised States of South-East Asia*, ed. Vella, 1967, p. 278, note 38.—Ed. ]

In the inscriptions, the kings are credited with the knowledge of the *Kāśikāvṛtti* and *Mīmāṃsā*, the *Dharmaśāstras*, and the Mahāyānic texts. There are also original compositions in Sanskrit, and quite a number of inscriptions in that language. There are also a few records in Cham, and one of Bhadravarman's rock inscriptions is in the oldest extant Indonesian dialect.

The religion of the country was predominantly Śivaism. Out of the 130 inscriptions discovered, Śiva is mentioned in ninetytwo, while Viṣṇu is invoked in three, Brahman in five, and the Buddha in seven. Śiva was worshipped both in images as also in the shape of a phallus. The Mi-son sanctuary happens to be the oldest Śiva temple in South-East Asia. The kings of this place as also of other South-East Asian countries regarded themselves as divine beings on earth with power derived from the deity. Śiva installed by them was generally named by compounding the god's name with their own names, e.g., Śiva-Bhadreśvara and Śambhu-Bhadreśvara installed by Bhadravarman and Śambhuvarman respectively. Śivaism was the state religion while Viṣṇuism and Buddhism played minor parts in the life of the Chams. Like the Śivaite kings, one or two Viṣṇuite monarchs also claimed themselves to be incarnations of Viṣṇu. The number of Buddhists was not very large. They professed Hīnayāna and worshipped one or two Mahāyānic Bodhisattvas. During the peaceful reign of Indravarman II (854-93 A. D.), a notable Buddhist monastery was built at Dong-duong, south-east of Mi-son. Like the Śivaite and Viṣṇuite kings, king Indravarman, whose earlier name was Lakṣmīndra, named the Buddhist deity installed in the temple as Śrī-Lakṣmīndra-Lokeśvara. It is stated in the Chinese annals that 1350 Buddhist texts were taken away by the Chinese from Campā in 605 A. D., while I-tsing records that the Sammitiya sect was popular there with a few followers of the Sarvāstivādins.

Hence from the Chinese testimony it may be inferred that Buddhism was prevalent in Campā sometime before the reign of Indravarman II. One of the later kings of this country was designated as Parama-Bodhisattva (1080-86 A. D.), while Jaya-Indravarman (1167-92 A. D.) and his successor Sūryavarman-deva worshipped Śiva, but accepted the principles of Mahāyānism, and the latter king erected the building called Śrī-Herukaharmya.

*Funan or Cambodia.* Funan, the Chinese term for 'Phnom' meaning 'mountain', is the region around the Ba Phnom mountain in South Cambodia. It corresponds to present Cambodia and Cochin China. The materials for its history of the earlier period are obtained from the Chinese sources, while for those of the period 650 to 800 A.D. from the large number of inscriptions found there.

It is generally believed that an Indian Kṣatriya went to the country in a sea-going vessel from Mahabalipuram in South India and that, after a show of miraculous power, he got a footing in the land and ultimately married the queen of the country, Somā. His dynasty ruled for about a century. Then the general of the last ruler of the dynasty, Fanman or Fanshiman, a member of the Varman (Fan) family, became the ruler of the country. Coedes identifies this general with Śrī-Māra mentioned in the Vocan inscription of Campā. One of his successors Fan-hsün (220 A. D.) who, according to the Chinese Annalist, K'ang T'ai, was well received by the people.\* He introduced into the country the Indian social rules and customs. A later king of this dynasty was Kaundinya Jayavarman (514 A.D.).\*\*

\*[Fan Hsün received K'ang T'ai about 245-50 A. D. and sent embassies to China in 268, 285, 286 and 287 A. D.—Ed.]

\*\*[Kaundinya Jayavarman sent his first embassy to China in 484 A. D. and died in 514 A. D.—Ed.]

After him the throne was usurped by Rudradaman [sic—Ed.], from whose time, the Sanskrit inscriptions furnish us with a clear history. During his reign, king Bhavavarman, a ruler of Chen-la (northern part of Cambodia and southern part of Laos), a vassal state of Funan, rebelled and ousted Rudradaman and occupied the throne. One of his successors, king Indravarman (877-99 A.D.), commenced, and his son completed the erection of the Bayon temple of Śiva. The town around this temple became known as Mahānagara or Angkor Thom. Indravarman's successors consolidated his empire extending it from Burma to Campā, and about 1261 A. D. subjugated Campā for a short period. This country was invaded from time to time by the Siamese, who captured Angkor thrice in 1313, 1351 and 1420 A. D., and it was at the intervention of the French Government that Angkor became once more a city of Funan.

From the sixth century A. D. Sanskrit very likely became the official language, at least for the inscriptions, some of which are also in the Cambodian dialect. The inscriptions are composed in highflown Sanskrit and, for the purpose of recitation, the stories of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* were widely used ; but there is no evidence of original Sanskrit compositions. Some of the kings studied Sanskrit *kāvya*s and texts on grammar, law and philosophy. The Cambodian kings maintained the tradition of appointing Brāhmaṇa priests (*purohitas*) who, as in the days of old in India, wielded almost royal power. The royal priesthood became hereditary. One of the famous priests was Śivakaivalya whose name is found in many inscriptions. The sacerdotal class of Brāhmaṇas studied the Sanskrit *śāstras* and performed all the ritualistic ceremonies including the coronation of kings.

The shrines of Funan may be divided into four classes : (a) of the Brāhmaṇical gods, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Harihara, Lakṣmī and

Pārvatī ; (b) of the Buddhist gods including Bodhisattvas ; (c) of Cambodian deities and (d) of deified kings, queens and nobles.

The chief deity of Cambodia was Śiva and most of the temples and donations were dedicated to this deity. The Cambodian kings, like those of Campā, associated their names with the deity installed in a temple and claimed themselves to be the earthly representatives of the god. King Indravarman installed three statues of Śiva, having the likeness of himself, his father and grandfather, while king Jayavarman II made statues of Śakti bearing likeness to his queen. There was widespread belief in South-East Asian countries that the image having the likeness of a particular king or queen preserves the soul of the dead king or queen and immortalises it.

Next to Śivaite temples, there were also images and temples of Viṣṇu and the Buddha and Bodhisattvas. There are many instances of kings being Śivaite, and their ministers Buddhist. There was no rivalry among the preachers and devotees of different faiths ; on the contrary, the temples of Śiva, Viṣṇu and the Buddha were built and endowed together. Yaśovarman, the founder of Angkor, provided two *āśramas*, one for the Brāhmaṇas, and the other for the Buddhist monks and novices known as Saugatāśrama, and maintained all the inmates without any distinction. The teachers of both the sects were known as Ācāryas, and special honour was shown to those who became proficient in grammar. The kings preceding Jayavarman VII (1185 A.D.),\* who was the earliest Buddhist king, were Śivaite ; but their ministers professed the Mahāyāna creed, set up images and temples of Prajñāpāramitādevī, the Buddha, Vajrapāṇi, Lokeśvara, etc. Among such ministers may be mentioned Satyavarman who erected a Buddhist monastery in Angkor in 900 A. D. and Kavīndrārimathana and Kīrtipaṇḍita, both of

\*[Jayavarman VII ruled from 1181 A. D. to a date later than 1200 A. D., probably to 1218 A. D.—Ed.]

whom constructed many temples and monasteries. It is stated in an inscription that Kīrtipaṇḍita imported Buddhist texts from abroad, the names of two of which are *Madhyānta-vibhāga* and *Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā*.

*Siam.* The Siamese belong to the Mongoloid race of Southern China. They migrated to the south along the Salween and Mekong rivers and settled in the Menam valley. They are called *Sien* by the Chinese, *Syam* by the Khmer and *Shan* by the Burmese.

The earliest T'ais state that P'ayo was established in 1096 A. D. at the junction of the Meping and Mewang rivers. In 1238 A. D., the T'ais wrested Sukhot'ai from the Khmers of Angkor. Rāma Khamheng (Rāma the Brave), son of Indrāditya, extended his dominion in the north and east and maintained friendly relations with China. He organised the administrative system, developed an official language out of a mixture of T'ai, Khmer and Malayan dialects, interspersed with Pāli ecclesiastical terms, and devised the Sukhodaya script. He made Pāli Buddhism the state religion, and celebrated with pomp and grandeur the Kathina festival, held at the close of the rainy season retreat of the Buddhist monks. He built a monastery for the forest-dwelling monks to the west of his capital specially meant for a master of the *Tripitaka*. Siam borrowed many cultural elements from Burma, Cambodia and China.

Rāma Khamheng's son Lo-T'ai (1317 A. D.)\* was not a strong ruler. He was religiously minded and became known as Śrī-Dharmarāja. His son Lu-T'ai was more religious, self-controlled and kind-hearted. He loved scholarship and in 1361 A. D., became a monk. He composed the treatise called

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\*[ The known dates of Rāma Khamheng, who ascended the throne before 1281 A. D., are 1283, 1285 and 1292 A. D. while his son probably died in 1347 A. D.—Ed.]



*Traibhūmikathā*. Taking advantage of his religious disposition, a T'ai prince of U-T'ong, belonging to the Chieng-sen family, became the ruler of Lavo (Lopburi or Dvāravatī), founded a new capital called Dvāravatī Śrī-Ayudhyā and claimed suzerainty over Lu-Ta'i. He is regarded as the first crowned king of Siam and was given the appellation Rāmādhipati. He made his kingdom of Ayuthia very powerful and attempted to conquer Cambodia. He revised the laws of the country in accordance with those of Manu and these remained the law of the land upto the nineteenth century. Siam was divided into three regions, North, Central and South. After the death of Rāmādhipati, there was a series of disputes for succession among the princes of the three regions. In the fifteenth century, the T'ais extended their dominions upto Cambodia and captured Angkor which was ceded later to the French.

In Central Siam, in the Menam valley, which was in the occupation of the Khmers in the seventh or eighth century, the Khmer style of art and architecture became popular. It was designated as the school of Lopburi (Lavo). The oldest inscriptions found at Tam Pet Tong and Surin are in Sanskrit and Khmer. In the Lopburi inscriptions, it is found that the people accepted both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna Buddhism, as also Śivaism and Viṣṇuism. In a Khmer inscription (1361 A.D.) of Śrī-Sūryavarmśa Rāma, there is reference to a king who was proficient in the Vedas, Tripiṭaka, *Śāstrāgama* and *Dharmanyāya*, and set up images of Maheśvara, Viṣṇu and the Buddha. This king also invited a distinguished monk from Ceylon and gave him due honour. The common people were mostly Buddhists, while the kings and ministers performed Brāhmaṇic rites and ceremonies.

The northern part of Siam was occupied by the T'ais who migrated from Nam Chao in Southern China. The T'ais brought with them animistic and Mahāyānic beliefs ; but after



their settlement in Siam, they adopted Hinayāna. They worshipped the Buddha and believed in the existence of effects of *karman* in after-life. The Mons predominated in Northern Siam. There are seven inscriptions of the thirteenth century composed in the Mon dialect in a script similar to that of Pagan. The artistic features of the Buddha images discovered in this area show traces of the Indian art of the Pāla period.

The southern part of Siam, known as Ayuthia, of which the capital was Dvāravati, founded by the prince of U'Tong, continued to be the capital of Siam till 1767 A. D. In this area, images of Śiva, Viṣṇu and other Brāhmaṇical deities have been discovered. A bronze image of Śiva was set up by Śrī-Dharmāśokarāja at Kam-peng-p'et in 1510 A. D. It bears an inscription in Siamese, recounting the good deeds of the prince and the text ends with a Buddhist type formula, wishing that the merits acquired by the donor be transferred to two other kings. Though Buddhism was the accepted religion of the country, there was no bar or prejudice against the Brāhmaṇical forms of worship or festivals. The people celebrated the Buddhist festivals with feasts, games and merrymaking. The Brāhmaṇical festivals were generally held on the occasion of putting the first plough to the earth in the year, harvesting, and anniversaries of the birth and coronation of the kings. The Brāhmaṇa priests performed also a few domestic ceremonies derived from the ten *saṃskāras* of the Hindus. The service of the priests is still requisitioned by the kings and nobles for domestic rites and ceremonies. Brāhmaṇism therefore has also a long history in the South-East Asian countries and has not been wiped out of the land in spite of the popularity of Hinayāna Buddhism. The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the Indian mythological stories still capture the imagination of the common people.

*Burma.* The people of Burma are composed of three races, viz., Burmese, Talaing and Shan. The Burmese came from the

north-west and settled in Upper Burma ; the Talaings, also known as Mon, allied to the Khmers of Cambodia, settled in Lower Burma around Pegu and Thaton, while the Shans, allied to the Siamese, settled on the eastern portion of Burma near the borders of Yunnan and Laos. There was a fourth race of the Pyu who settled in the eleventh century in and around Prome, between the areas occupied by the Burmese and the Talaings. The Pyus, it seems, had direct connection with India, very probably Orissa (Śrīkṣetra), and were ruled by Indian chiefs, whose names have been found inscribed in an urn, e.g., Sūryavikrama, Harivikrama and Śimbhavikrama. They used religious terms in Sanskrit.

Of the four races, the Burmese were pre-eminent and occupied the largest area. The Arakanese migrated from Tagaung which is said to have been founded by an Indian king called Abhirāja about the ninth century B. C. They remained separate from the Burmese till 1784 A. D. when Arakan was annexed by Burma.

Burma can boast of their three great kings Anawrata, Bayin Naung and Alompra. In 1057 A. D., king Anawrata conquered Thaton in Lower Burma and brought the Shan states under his control. He and his successors erected many Pagodas, enshrining images of the Buddha. Bayin Naung (1551-81 A.D.) conquered Prome, Pegu and Ava, of which Ava had been founded by a Shan ruler called Thadominpaya. The dynasty of Bayin ruled in Ava till the eighteenth century. King Alompra or Alaund-paya (1752-60 A. D.) captured Ava and united the two parts of Burma. He founded Rangoon. One of his successors, Bodawpaya (1783 A. D.), founded the capital at Amarapura, while another successor Mindon Min (1857 A. D.) made Mandalay his capital. The last king of this dynasty was king Thibaw in whose time Burma passed into the hands of the British.

Buddhism reached Burma directly from the eastern countries of India as also from Cambodia and Ceylon. The Indians went to Burma by both land and sea mainly for trade and commerce. These traders were accompanied by Brāhmaṇa priests and Buddhist monks, who were responsible for introducing Indian law and religion into the country. The religion was mainly Hīnayāna ; but there were also traces of Mahāyāna and Tāntric Buddhism. The Aris, who were regarded as heretics by the Hīnayānists, were very likely Tāntric *Sādhakas* who must have gone there from Bengal and Orissa. Of the definite Indian religious traces in Burma may be mentioned a few Sanskrit inscriptions at Taungu, images of the Bodhisattvas and other deities in Prome, rock-cut temples in the lower Chindwin District and, above all, inscriptions in Pāli on gold plates written in the Kadamba script of South India.

The law-codes of Burma are derived from the Sanskrit *Dharmaśāstras*, but conformed to the Buddhist ideas and not to the Brāhmaṇical social system. In 1832 A. D., a compilation of law was made in a text called *Mohavicchedam* attributed to the Buddha. An interesting feature of the legal codes was that the criminals were believed to suffer for their evil deeds in due course, and so they were let off on payment of fines of compensation to the aggrieved party.

As in other south-eastern countries, the services of Brāhmaṇa Panditas were requisitioned by the kings and nobles for astrological and astronomical forecasts, soothsayings and chanting of *mantras* for magical effect. There is at Pagan an inscription of 1442 A. D., in which are mentioned a few books with Sanskrit titles.

In some of the stone-sculptures of old Prome, according to N. R. Ray, there are traces not only of the artistic features of the Andhra-Pallava zone, but also those of the Later Guptas. He supports his opinion by pointing out that there are also

inscriptions in the early Eastern Nāgarī characters and that the script in an inscription of the Pyus discovered in old Prome is North-Eastern Gupta-Brāhmī of the sixth and seventh centuries. A. D.

Of all the regions of Burma, there are in old Prome (Śrīkṣetra) the Pyu stone-sculptures in the Gupta style, terracotta votive tablets with Sanskrit legends in Nāgarī characters, and bronze images of Avalokiteśvara and of other deities.

Arakan was sometimes ruled by an Indian dynasty called the Candras and later by a king called Śrī-Dharmavijaya whose family had matrimonial relations with the Pegu royalty.\*

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## AN OVERLOOKED ASPECT OF RGVEDIC RUDRA\*

R. C. HAZRA

If we study the *Rgveda* critically, it becomes impossible for us to deny the fact that Rudra is presented in this work mainly and basically as an extremely malevolent deity mercilessly killing not only the innocent Vedic people without making any distinction of their age, sex, social relation or worldly prosperity, but also their domestic animals of all kinds,<sup>1</sup> still, being specially mentioned as 'man-slaying' (*nr̥-han*) and as possessing a weapon which is 'male-killing' (*pūruṣa-han*) and 'cow-killing' (*go-han*), he is made to appear as one aiming particularly at the lives of human males (*puruṣa*) and cows (*go*). Rudra is said to be 'man-slaying' (*nr̥-han*) in the *Rgveda*, 4.3.6 — *bravah kad - agne Rudrāya nr̥ghne*, "What, O Agni, wilt thou say to man-slaying Rudra?"

It should be mentioned here that although there is nothing to show that the men (*nr̥*) killed by Rudra were sinners in any

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\*This article is to form a part of my proposed work entitled *Rudra and Rudra-S'tva*.

1 See particularly *RV*, 1.114.7-8 (quoted and translated below); also 1.114.10; 2.33.1, 6, 11 and 14-15; and 7. 46.3-4 (some of which have been quoted and translated below). Cf. 1.43.2, 6; 1.114.1, 6; 6.74.1—*Somā-Rudrā ... .. śam no bhūtaim dvipade śam catuṣpade* // "O Soma-and-Rudra, ... .. be blissful to our bipeds [and] blissful to [our] quadrupeds." In the verses referred to above there is mention of bipeds (*dvipada*) including men, women, father, mother, son, grandson, children (born and unborn), etc., and of quadrupeds (*catuṣpada*) such as cows, horses, rams, ewes, etc., which became the targets of attack of Rudra's deadly weapon. It is to be noted that among these victims there is no express mention of goats (*aṇa*).

way, Sāyaṇa and Veṅkaṭamādhava<sup>2</sup> explain the word *nṛghne* respectively as *nṛṇāṁ pāpakṛtāṁ hantre* and *manuṣyāṇāṁ pāpakṛtāṁ nihantre*, both meaning 'to the killer of sinning men', evidently with a stretch of imagination which will be shown on a different occasion to be quite unauthorised.

Again, in 1.114. 10,<sup>3</sup> Rudra has been addressed thus :

*āre te goghnam = uta pūruṣaghnāṁ*  
*kṣayad-vīra<sup>4</sup> sumnam = asme te astu /*

2 For Sāyaṇa, see *Rgveda* (Poona ed.), Vol. II, p. 515, and for Veṅkaṭamādhava, see *ibid.* (Hoshiarpur ed.), Vol. III, p. 1483.

3 For this verse, see also *TS*, 4.5.10.3, which reads—

*ārāt te goghna uta pūruṣaghlne kṣayad-vīrāya ... .. /*  
*rakṣā ca no adhi ca deva brūhy = adhā ... .. /*

4 The word *kṣayad-vīraḥ* may be derived in various ways; e.g., (1) *kṣayan vīrān* (cf. *bharad-vājaḥ*, *vīdad-vasuḥ*, *tarad-dveṣaḥ*, etc.)—(a) killing heroes (*kṣayan = vināśayan*), or (b) ruling over (or governing) heroes (*kṣayan = prāpt-aiśvaryaḥ*). (ii) *kṣayanto vīrā yasmāt*—from whom (i.e. by meeting whom) heroes are meeting destruction (*kṣayantaḥ = vināśyantaḥ*). (iii) *kṣayanto vīrā yasmīn*—in whom heroes are dwelling or residing (*kṣayantaḥ = nivasantaḥ*), or are getting destroyed (*kṣayantaḥ = vināśyantaḥ*), (iv) *kṣayanto vīrā yasya*—whose heroes are lords or rulers (*kṣayantaḥ = prāpt-aiśvaryaḥ*—Sāyaṇa), or are getting destroyed (*kṣayantaḥ = vināśyantaḥ*). For analyses and interpretations of *kṣayad-vīra*, see Sāyaṇa, Skandavāmin, Veṅkaṭamādhava and Mudgala on *RV*, 1.106.4, and 1.114.1-3 and 10, and Sāyaṇa and Veṅkaṭamādhava on 1.125.3, 8.19.10 and 10.92.9; also Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara on *VS*, 16.48, and Sāyaṇa on *TS*, 4.5.10.1-3. W. D. Whitney (*JAOS*, III. 1853, p. 319) and A. B. Keith (Eng. trans. of *TS*, 4.5.10.1-3) also render *kṣayad-vīra* as 'destroyer of heroes'. J. Muir (*OST*, Vol. IV, p. 302, note, and pp. 304, 317, etc.), Theodor Benfey (in *Orient and Occident*, Vol. III, pp. 140 and 156), Theodor Aufrecht (cf. Muir, *loc. cit.*), H. Grassmann (*Rigveda*), Otto Boehtlingk and R. Roth (*Sanskrit-Woerterbuch*, Vol. II, col. 536), R. T. H. Griffith (Eng. trans. of *RV* and of *VS*, 16.48), Ludwig (*Der Rigveda*) and many others also take *kṣayad-vīra* to mean 'ruling over (or, ruler or commander of, or governing) heroes (or men)'. But in view of the facts that, in the first half of the said verse (*RV*, 1.114.10, quoted above), Rudra's weapon is said to destroy cows and [human] males and his goodwill is prayed for in order to attain immunity from death, that in 1.114.3, Rudra is called *kṣayad-vīra* and the persons seeking the pleasure of this god pray for having their

*mṛṭā ca no adhi ca brūhi<sup>5</sup> dev = ā-*

heroes uninjured (*ariṣṭa-virāḥ*), and that in 1.114.8, a prayer is made to Rudra not to be furious with rage and slay his worshippers' heroes (*virān*), we feel inclined to take the word *kṣayad-vira* in the said verse to mean '[one] destroying heroes' (i.e. 'destroyer of heroes'). The word *virā* may also mean 'man'. That in the *Rgvedic* verse quoted above, the word *kṣayad-vira* is to be taken to mean 'destroyer of heroes' is also evident from the fact that although, as we shall see hereinafter, the Maruts are the heroes commanded by Rudra and their destructive weapon (*vadhāḥ*) is said to be 'cow-killing' (*gohā*) and 'man-killing' (*nṛhā*), it is only Rudra's weapon from which immunity of cows and [human] males is prayed for by the Vedic people. Note the singular number of the word *te* in *āre te goghnām = uta pūruṣaghnām*, etc. If *kṣayad-vira* really meant 'lord, ruler or governor of heroes', then their prayer would certainly be for immunity of their cows and men not only from the deadly weapon of Rudra, but also from those of the Maruts:

5 The expression *no adhi ca brūhi deva* has been explained by Sāyaṇa as *he deva dyotamāna Rudra naḥ asmān adhi brūhi ca/ adhivacanān pakṣapātena vacanān 'brāhmaṇādhi brūyāt' (Taittirīyasaṁhitā, 2.5.11.9) iti yathā*; by Skāṇḍasvāmī as *adhi ca upari ca brūhi deva ! ājñāpaya ca yad = yad = asmābhiḥ kartavyam = ity = arthāḥ*; by Veṅkaṭamādhava as *adhi ca asmān brūhi deva*; and by Mudgala in the words of Sāyaṇa quoted above. J. Muir translates *no adhi brūhi* as 'take our side', R. T. H. Griffith as 'bless us', H. H. Wilson as 'speak in our behalf', K. F. Geldner as *sei unser Fürsprecher* (be the speaker in our behalf), H. Grassmann as *sprich uns freundlich zu* (speak to us in a friendly way) and A. Ludwig as *segne uns* (bless us). See Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 304; Griffith, *Hymns of the Rgveda*, Vol. I, p. 153; Wilson, *Rig-veda-saṁhitā*, Vol. I, p. 178; Geldner, *Der Rgveda*, Vol. I, p. 151; Grassmann, *Rigveda*, Vol. II, p. 117; Ludwig, *Der Rgveda*, Vol. II, p. 325. By *adhi brūhi*, a prayer is made to Rudra by his devotees either for his defence of them against his haters' denouncement or against the rage of other gods antagonised by Rudra-worship or by other unpleasant acts (cf. *RV*, 2.33.7, cited above), or for his encouragement given by speaking favourably (i.e. by offering blessings) after giving up his rage and malevolence (cf. 2.33.6). As 'speaking in one's behalf' is a mode of 'giving one protection' and as in the said verse there are the words *adha ca* ('and then') which make the act of giving protection a subsequent matter, Geldner's translation of the second half of this verse as *Erbarme dich unser und sei unser Fürsprecher, o Goit, und gewähre uns doppelten Schirm !* (Have pity on us and be a speaker in our behalf, O god, and grant us twofold protection), in which the word *adha*



*dhā ca naḥ śarma yaccha dvi-barhāḥ*<sup>6</sup> //

(then) has not been taken into consideration, does not appear to be very happy.

6 The word *barhas*, derived from *bṛh*, is an adjective meaning 'mighty', 'strong'. Consequently, *dvi-barhāḥ*, which has the first case-ending and is an adjective in the masculine gender, has to be dissolved as *dvayoḥ barhāḥ* and taken to be an epithet of Rudra and to mean 'powerful (or mighty) in two [i. e. in two regions, viz., heaven (or atmosphere) and earth, or in two acts, viz., those of favour and punishment]'. The word *dvi-barhāḥ*, as occurring in the said verse, has been explained by Sāyaṇa as *dvi-barhāḥ dvayoḥ sthānayoḥ pṛthivyām=antarikṣe ca parivṛddhaḥ*; *yad=vā*, *dvayor=dakṣiṇ-ottaramārgayor=jñāna-karmānor=vā parivṛddhaḥ svāmī*, by Skandasvāmin as *dvi-barhāḥ bṛmhur=vṛddhy-arthah|dvayor=vardhayitā yaṣṭuḥ stotus=ca dvi-barhāḥ|athavā dvayoḥ sthānayoḥ pravṛddho dvi-barhāḥ|katamayor=dvayoḥ? yajñā-saṁgrāmayor=vā vīryeṇa, madhyam-ottamayor=vā rūpeṇa| Rudro hi madhyama-sthāniyaḥ san āpravṛddho divyādityāt śaknoti prabhūtān rasān pratigrahitum|apy=antarikṣe āpravṛddhaḥ śaknoti ca varṣayitum|ata upapannam=asya vṛddhatvam|tannibandhanaḥ=ca dvi-barhā iti vyapadeśaḥ*; by Veṅkaṭamādhava as *dvayoḥ sthānayoḥ parivṛddhaḥ*, and by Mudgala as *dvi-barhāḥ dvayoḥ sthānayoḥ pṛthivyām=antarikṣe ca parivṛddhaḥ svāmī*, which agree with those of Sāyaṇa. In commenting on VS, 7.39, Uvaṇa explains this word as *dvayoḥ sthānayoḥ parivṛddhaḥ madhyame ca sthāne uttame ca parivṛddhaḥ prabhūḥ*, and Mahīdhara as *dvi-barhāḥ 'bṛhi vṛddhau' barhaṇam barhaḥ vṛddhiḥ asun-pratyayaḥ|dvayoḥ prakṛti-vikṛti-rūpayoḥ soma-yāgayor=barho yasya sa dvi-barhāḥ|yad=vā, dvayoḥ sthānayoḥ=barhāḥ vṛddhaḥ parivṛddhaḥ prabhūḥ madhyame sthāne uttame ca*. Like Mahīdhara, Sāyaṇa on TS, 1.4.21.1, explains *dvi-barhāḥ* as *dvayoḥ prakṛti-vikṛti-rūpayoḥ soma-yāgayor=barho vṛddhir=yasy=eti dvi-barhāḥ*, and on 4.5.10.3, as *dvayor=lokeyor=vardhayitā*. Following Sāyaṇa, Wilson translates *dvi-barhāḥ* as 'mighty over the two [realms of heaven and earth]'. As a matter of fact, in RV, 2.33.9, Rudra is called 'the sovereign of this world' (*iśānād=asya bhuva-nasya*), in 7.46.2, it is said that 'he, through his lordship, thinks on beings on the earth, [and] on heavenly beings through his high imperial sway', and in 7.46.3, a prayer is made to this god thus: "May thy bright arrow which, shot down by thee from heaven, flieth upon the earth, pass us uninjured by". Although this compound word is masculine and begins with the word *dvi* (and not *dis* derived from *dvi* with the Taddhita suffix *suc*, i. e. *s*, and meaning 'twice' or 'twofold'), it has been taken to qualify the word *śarma* (which is

“Far [from us be] thy [weapon] that kills cows and slays [human] males ; O destroyer of heroes, let thy goodwill be with us. Be gracious and speak in our favour, O god, and then do [thou], mighty in two [regions or acts], confer bliss on us.”

We cannot fail to notice that in this verse Rudra's weapon which is said to kill only 'cows' and 'male human beings' (and nothing else) is earnestly desired to be avoided, although the slaughter of other domestic animals (particularly horses)<sup>7</sup> and human beings (namely, females) was undoubtedly deemed equally undesirable. It is not that the weapon of this dreaded god spared in any way the lives of horses, rams, ewes, etc., and of women and even children in their mothers' wombs. There are some verses in which prayer has been made to Rudra thus :

*mā no mahāntam<sup>8</sup> = uta mā no arbhakam<sup>9</sup>*

neuter) by eminent scholars like Griffith, Ludwig, Geldner and others who translate the two words as 'doubly-strong protection' or 'double (or two-fold) protection'. Grassmann translates *dvi-barhāṇ* as *der du zweifache Staerke besitzest* (thou possessest twofold strength). As regards Rudra's power of favouring or punishing people, which is quite evident from the hymns themselves, there is hardly any necessity of referring to individual verses.

7 It should be mentioned here that horses were of immense importance to the Vedic people for use in war as well as in daily life. As a matter of fact, it was these animals which gave the Vedic people a much better position against their powerful enemies. So, their necessity to these people was as much as, if not more than, that of cows. In the *Rgveda* prayer is found to be made very frequently to different deities for the attainment of horses.

8-9 The masculine gender and singular number of the words *mahāntam* and *arbhakam* show that they have been used to denote male human beings. Sāyaṇa, Veṅkaṭamādhava and Mudgala take these words to mean *vṛddham* and *bālam* respectively ; and Skandasvāmin explains the latter thus : *arbhakam* / *alpa-nām* = *aitat* / *alpam* / *bālam* = *ity* = *arthah*, but does not give any equivalent for the former. In commenting on this Rgvedic verse as occurring in VS, 16.15, Uvaṭa explains the words *mahāntam* and *arbhakam* as *vṛddham* *vayaḥ-prābhṛtibhiḥ* and *alpam*, and Mahidhara as *vṛddham* *guru-*

*mā na ukṣantam*<sup>10</sup> = *uta mā na ukṣitam*<sup>11</sup> /  
*mā no vadhiḥ piṭaram m = ota mātaram*<sup>12</sup>  
*mā naḥ priyās = tanvo Rudra rīṣaḥ* // (1.114.7)<sup>13</sup>

“Neither our great (i.e., old or fully grown up) man nor our small (i.e., very young) male child, neither our [youth] emitting [sperm for begetting children] nor our male child generated [in the mother’s womb], neither our father nor our mother do thou slay; nor do thou harm our dear [frail] bodies, O Rudra.”

*pitṛvy-ādīkam* and *bālam* respectively. Muir (*op. cit.*, p. 304) translates these two words simply as ‘great’ and ‘small’ respectively, and so also does Griffith. The renderings of Ludwig, Grassmann and Geldner are also the same as those of Muir and Griffith. As these renderings of Muir and others are totally indefinite about the sex of the persons meant by the relevant words, they are not at all satisfactory.

10 Note the masculine gender and singular number of the word *ukṣantam*, which must be taken to point to a male human being who is capable of giving out sperm for procreating children.

11 Although the word *ukṣitam* may be neuter, qualifying the word *apatyam* (understood) as Mudgala says in his commentary on this verse, it must have been used in the masculine gender, because, as will be evident from this and other verses quoted from the *Rgveda*, Rudra aimed more at the lives of males than at those of females. Moreover, as in this or in any other Rgvedic verse relating to Rudra there is no mention of girls already born, there is no reason why the word *ukṣitam* should be taken to be in the neuter gender to mean also a female child in the mother’s womb.

12 It is remarkable that among the words denoting the human victims of Rudra’s deadly weapon, there is none which definitely means a ‘daughter’ or a ‘girl’. So the mention of the ‘mother’ (cf. *mātaram*) in the said verse and of ‘[grown up] women’ (cf. *nārībhyaḥ*) in 1.43.6 (quoted below), should be taken to point to Rudra’s attempt at arresting the growth of the number of members of the Vedic society by making their grown up girls and elderly women the targets of his destructive weapon.

13 For this verse, see also *VS*, 16.15, and *TS*, 4.5.10.2-3. In *TS*, it reads *priyā mā nas = tanuvo-* (for *mā naḥ priyās = tanvo-*).

*mā nas = toke<sup>14</sup> tanaye<sup>15</sup> mā na āyau<sup>16</sup>*

14-15 In this verse the neuter word *toka* (used in the singular number) means 'a son' (and not 'progeny', which may be male or female), because the immediately following word *tanaya*, used in the masculine gender and singular number, definitely means 'a male descendant' (such as a grandson, great-grandson, or the like). According to Sāyana, Skandasvāmin, Veṅkaṭamādhava and Mudgala, *toka* and *tanaya* (in the said R̥gvedic verse) respectively mean 'son' and 'grandson'. Cf. *toka-śabdaḥ putravāci tanayas = tat-putraḥ*—Sāyana ; *tokaṁ tanayaṁ putrāṁś = ca pautrāṁś = ca*—Skandasvāmin; *putre tat-putre ca*—Veṅkaṭamādhava ; *tokaḥ putraḥ tanayas = tat-putraḥ*—Mudgala. In commenting on this verse (1.114.8) as occurring in the *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* (16.16), Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara also take these words to mean *putra* and *pautra* respectively. For Yāska's derivation and similar explanation of these two words (as occurring in *RV*, 7.46.3, quoted below) and also for the reasons adduced by us for taking these words respectively to mean 'sons' and 'male descendants [of the sons]', see notes 23-24 below. It is a fact that in commenting on *RV*, 1.189.2, Sāyana explains the words *tokāya* and *tanayāya*, saying : *tokāya apatyāya tanayāya, putrāya, toka-śabdaḥ apatyā-sāmānya-vacanaḥ, tanaya-śabdaḥ putra-vacanaḥ* ; but in explaining the verse Veṅkaṭamādhava gives for the said two words the equivalents *putrāya* and *tat-putrāya* respectively. We shall see below (notes 23-24) that *toka*, though neuter, invariably means 'a son' and *tanaya* 'a male descendant [of the son]'. The said two words have been translated respectively as 'children' and 'descendants' by Muir (*op. cit.*, p. 304), as 'seed' and 'progeny' by Griffith, simply as *leiblichen Samen* (own children) by Geldner, as *Kind* (child) and *Enkeln* (grandchildren) by Grassmann, and as *Samen* (descendants) and *Kindern* (children) by Ludwig. But it is hardly necessary to say that these renderings, in which the sex of the persons meant by the relevant words has been overlooked, are defective and, consequently, not at all reliable.

16 The word *āyu*, as its form *āyau* in the Locative Case shows, has been used in the masculine gender and singular number. So, it cannot but mean a male human being. Sāyana explains this word, saying : *āyur = iti ant-odāttaḥ manuṣya-nāma / putra-pautra-vyatirikto yo = 'smadīyaḥ manuṣyas = tasmin* ; Skandasvāmin says : *āyava iti manuṣya-nāmasu pāṭhād = āyu-śabdo = 'tra manuṣya-vacanaḥ, paricāraka-manuṣyān* ; according to Veṅkaṭamādhava, it means *anyasmin ... .. puruṣe* ; and Mudgala has *āyuh putra-pautra-vyatirikto yo = 'smadīyo manuṣyas = tasmin*. Grassmann translates it as *Leuten* (men). But Ludwig's and Griffith's rendering of *āyu* as 'the living' does not point definitely to the sex of these people, because 'the living' may

*mā no goṣu mā no aśveṣu rīṣaḥ |*  
*virān<sup>17</sup> mā no Rudra bhāmito vadhāt =* \_\_\_\_\_  
*haviṣmantaḥ sadam = it tvā havāmahe || (1.114.8).<sup>18</sup>*

“Not in [our] son [and] in [our any other] male descendant,  
 not in [any other] living [man of ours], not in [our] cows, [and]  
 not in [our] horses do thou harm us. Incensed [against us do  
 thou] slay not our heroes, O Rudra. Possessed of oblations  
 we call thee evermore.”

*imā Rudrāya tavase* ... ..  
 ... .. *pra bharāmahe matih |*  
*yathā sam = asad = dvipade catuṣpade*

be male or female or both. So, this rendering, being defective, has to be rejected. According to Geldner, *āyu* means *Leben* ('life'; cf. *āyus*); but this word, as used in other places of the *Rgveda* (1.60.3, 1.117.25, 1.130.6, etc.), shows that Geldner's rendering is not happy.

17 Muir takes *virān* to mean 'men' (*loc. cit.*), and Geldner translates it as *Mannen* (men). But as *āyau* means 'in a living [man]', the word *virān* should be taken to mean 'heroes'. Grassmann and Ludwig also render it as *Helden* (heroes).

18 For this verse, see also *VS*, 16.16, *TS*, 4.5.10.3, and *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, 4.22. In it, the *VS*, *TS* and *Śvetāśvatara* read *āyuṣi* (for *āyau*), the *VS* has *bhāmino* (for *bhāmito*), the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* has *avadhiḥ* (for *vadhiḥ*), and the *TS* has *namasā vidhema te* (for *sadam = it tvā havāmahe*). It is hardly necessary to say that, of the said three readings, the first two (viz., *āyuṣi* and *bhāmino*) are not at all happy. The word *āyuṣi* is to be rendered as 'in [respect of our] life or longevity', and *bhāminah*, derived from the word *bhāma* meaning *krodha* (anger, rage), has to be taken as an adjective of *virān*. But as in the said verse (1.114.8), all the other words, viz., *toka*, *tanaya*, *go*, *aśva* and *vira* mean living beings or creatures for whom protection is sought from Rudra, the word *āyu* also is expected to mean a living being (viz., a living man). In regard to the reading *bhāmino*, it may be said that, as the expression *virān mā no Rudra bhāmino vadhiḥ* (Do not slay our enraged heroes, O Rudra) of the *Vājasaneyi Samhitā* suggests that the heroes of the Vedic people trying to propitiate Rudra had already been incensed against this god, there is no reason why Rudra should spare the lives of these heroes who are thus inimical to him, and we fail to understand how a prayer may be made to him for the protection of these heroes under the said circumstances.

*viśvaṁ puṣṭaṁ grāme asminn = anāturam* // (1.114.1)<sup>19</sup>

“To the strong Rudra ... [we] bring these songs of praise, so that there may be happiness to the bipeds [and] the quadrupeds [and] all may be thriving [and] unafflicted in this village.”

*rāsvā ca no amṛta marta-bhojanaṁ*

*tmane tokāya<sup>20</sup> tanayāya<sup>21</sup> mṛṣa* //(1.114.6 c.d).

“Grant us, O immortal Rudra, the food of the mortals ; be gracious to myself, to [my] son [and] to [my other] male descendant.”

*śam naḥ karaty = arvate sugaṁ<sup>22</sup> meṣāya meṣye* /  
*nṛbhyo nāribhyo gave* // (1.43-6).

19 For this verse, see also *VS*, 16.48, *KS*, 17.16 (54), *MS*, 2.9.9(37), *KKS*, 27.6 (lines 5-4 at p. 118), and *TS*, 4.5.10.1-2. In *RV*, 1.114.1, *VS*, *KS*, *MS* and *KKS* read *prabharāmahe* (for *pra bharāmahe*), *TS* reads *matim* (for *matih*), and all these *Saṁhitās* read *yathā naḥ śam* (for *yathā śam*).

20-21 The words *toka* and *tanaya*, both used in the singular number as in *RV*, 1.114.8, quoted above, must be taken to mean ‘son’ and ‘male descendant [of the son]’ respectively. See notes 14-15 above and 23-24 below. Muir translates the said two words as ‘children’ and ‘descendants’ (*loc. cit.*), Griffith as ‘seed’ and ‘progeny’, Geldner as *leiblichen Samen* (own children), Grassmann as *Kindern* (children) and *Enkelschar* (band of grandchildren) and Ludwig as *Samen* (descendants) and *Kindern* (children). But as in these translations, the sex of the persons meant by the two words have been overlooked, they cannot be accepted.

22 With the word *sugam* meaning *suṣṭhu gamyam* according to Sāyaṇa and Mudgala, *śvadhigamam* (i.e. *supriyam*) according to Skandasvāmin, and *śobhana-gamanam* according to Veṅkaṭamādhava, the first line of this verse should be construed thus : [*Rudraḥ*] *naḥ arvate meṣāya meṣye* [*ca*] *śam sugaṁ karati*. For the meaning *suṣṭhu gamyam* (easily attainable), see *RV*, 1.102.4 (*asmabhyam = Indra varivaḥ sugaṁ kṛdhi ...* ... To us, Indra, make wealth easily available) ; 6.44.18 (*Indra pṛtsv = asmabhyam mahi varivaḥ sugaṁ kaḥ*, Indra, make great wealth easy of access to us in battles), etc. The word *suga* may also mean *sukha* (happiness). In commenting on *RV*, 1.106.5, Sāyaṇa, like Skandasvāmin, Veṅkaṭamādhava and Mudgala, takes it to be a synonym of *sukha* (*sugam / sukha-nām = aitat*). He then derives it saying : *sugam / suṣṭhu gamyate asminn = iti sugam / ‘su-duror = adhikaraṇe’*

"To our steeds [ and ] to [ our ] rams, ewes, men, women [ and ] kine may [ Rudra ] make welfare easily attainable" (according to Sāyaṇa). [Or, "May [Rudra] grant welfare to our steeds [and] happiness to [our] rams, ewes, men, women [and] kine]."

*mā nas = tokeṣu<sup>23</sup> tanayeṣu<sup>24</sup> ririṣaḥ* (7. 46.3d).

*iti gamer = ḍaḥ*. Geldner's translation of *sugam* as *guten Fortgang* (good progress or advance) does not appear to be happy from the point of view of the grammatical formation of the word. See also Grassmann's and Ludwig's renderings of the word as *Glück* (good luck) and *guten [weide]gang* (good pasture-going) respectively.

23-24 According to Yāska, *toka* and *tanaya* (RV, 7.46.3 and 1.92.13) mean *putra* (son) and *pautra* (grandson) respectively, a son being called *toka* because of his being urged (cf. *tudyateḥ*), presumably by his father, to do good deeds and to avoid the bad ones, and a grandson being called *tanaya* due to his extending (cf. *tanoteḥ*) further his father's family. See Yāska's *Nirukta* (NSP), 10.7 (Vol. II, pp. 827-28)—*mā nas = tokeṣu tanayeṣu ririṣaḥ* (RV, 7.46.3) // ... *mā nas = tvam putreṣu ca pautreṣu ca ririṣaḥ | tokam tudyates = tanayam tanoteḥ |*, and Durgācārya's com.—*mā naḥ asmākam tokeṣu putreṣu tanayeṣu pautreṣu ca ririṣaḥ | himsām mā prayuṅkṣva ity = etad = āśāmahe | ... tokam = iti putraḥ | sa hi nityam pitrā vlnayatā tudyate 'idaṁ kuru', 'idaṁ mā kūrṣir' = iti | tanayam tanoteḥ | pautram | taddhi atitarām pituḥ sakāśat tataṁ bhavati | saty = apy = apatya-nāmatv-āviśeṣe ih = ājāmitāya viśeṣaḥ |*. Also *Nirukta*, 12.6 (Vol. II, p. 945)—*yena tokam ca tanayam ca dhāmahe* (RV, 1.92.13) // ... *yena putrāmś = ca pautrāmś = ca dadhimahi ...* //, and Durgācārya's com.— ... *yena tvat-prattena vayam putrāmś = ca pautrāmś = ca avicchedena tṛptān dadhimahi |* Sāyaṇa gives *putreṣu* as the synonym for *tokeṣu*, but leaves *tanayeṣu* without comment, showing that he means by it either the grandsons or these as well as their male descendants (cf. Sāyaṇa on *tanaya* in RV, 1.64.14, 92.13, 100.11, 114.6 and 8, 2.25.2, 2.30.5, etc., as 'grandson' (*pautra*), in RV, 1.31.12, etc., as 'the male descendants beginning with the grandsons' (*pautr-ādi*), and in RV, 3.1.23, 5.11, 6.11, etc., as 'the male descendant [after the son] who extends the family' (*sūnuḥ putraḥ, tanayaḥ samīdānasya viśṭrayitā*). According to Veṅkaṭamādhava, *tokeṣu* and *tanayeṣu* in the verse quoted above mean *putreṣu* and *pautreṣu* respectively. It should be mentioned here that in the Vedic literature from the *Rgveda* downwards, the word *tanaya* has been used in many places in the masculine or the neuter gender, but not even once in its feminine form *tanayā*. So, as the Vedic society was patriarchal and as, consequently, the families of the

"[O Rudra,] do not inflict evil on our [male] progeny [ and our other male] descendants."

*mā no vadhī Rudra mā parā dā*  
*mā te bhūma prasitau hūitasya* (7.46.4 a-b)

"Do not slay us, Rudra, nor forsake [us]. Let [us] not fall [victims] to the noose of [thy] angry [self]."

From these and a few other verses<sup>25</sup> of the *Rgveda*, it is evident that Rudra carried out his slaughter of human beings and their domestic animals mercilessly and indiscriminately,

Vedic people extended through the sons and, on rare occasions, only through those daughters who, being looked upon as sons by their sonless fathers, were retained as Putrikā-putras in their fathers' houses even after their marriage, the word *tanaya* meant only a male descendant and not a female one. In later days, however, this word came to be used to mean a son because the word *toka* was no longer used in Classical Sanskrit (except in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, which uses a number of rare Vedic words) and also because a son caused the extension of his father's family as much as a grandson. Consequently, it had the feminine form *tanayā* to mean 'daughter', and this form, being found included in the *priy-ādi-gaṇa* mentioned by Pāṇini (6.3.34), must be older than Pāṇini. As the word *tanaya* thus definitely means a male descendant of the son, *toka* cannot be taken to mean 'progeny' (which may be male or female), because there is no reason why Rudra should subject the granddaughters to the harm caused by his deadly weapon if he allows the great-granddaughters and other female descendants to escape it. So, *toka* also is to be taken to mean a male descendant, viz., a son. We have already said that in the Vedic literature the word *tanaya* has never been used in its feminine form *tanayā* to mean a daughter or a female descendant [of the son]. Thus the plural forms of this word (such as *tanayeṣu* in the verse quoted above) cannot be taken to be due to *ekaśeṣa*. So, even in its plural form this word (*tanaya*) cannot mean a female descendant, be she a daughter or any one else. In their translations of *RV*, 7.46.3, the words *toka* and *tanaya* (both used in the plural number) have been rendered respectively as 'sons' and 'progeny' by Griffith, as *Kind* (child) and *Enkeln* (grandchildren) by Grassmann, and as *Samen* (descendants) and *Kinde* (children) by Ludwig. Geldner translates these two words collectively as *leiblichen Samen* (own children).

<sup>25</sup> Such as *RV*, 2.33.1, 6, 11 and 14-15 (particularly verse 14), 1.43.2, 6.71.1 and so on.



although in taking the lives of the former, he aimed his deadly weapon more often at males than at females, as is shown by the words (except *mātr* and *nāri*) which denote human beings and either have almost invariably the masculine gender and the singular number to denote males<sup>26</sup> or, even when neuter point to the male sex of the victims, in the verses quoted above. Even in taking the lives of females, Rudra must have made some discrimination. We have noted above that the only words definitely pointing to the female victims of Rudra's weapon are *mātr* (1.114.7) and *nāri* (1.43.6), both of which point to grown up women, the former meaning one who has already begun to be a mother and the latter, those who are aged enough to give birth to children, and that there is no word (*duhitṛ*, etc.) definitely meaning a daughter or a girl, the extension of the import of *toka* used in the plural number in 7.46.3 to female descendants being already shown to be impossible.<sup>27</sup> So, we are in a position to say that, among the females, Rudra made, evidently for bringing down the numerical strength of the Vedic people, the grown up women of the society the first targets of his destructive weapon, although he does not appear to have spared the lives of minor girls also. Yet, the mention of Rudra's weapon particularly as *go-han* and *puruṣa-han* (1.114.10) and the prayer made in the same context for immunity from danger caused by this weapon, tend to show that, although Rudra aimed at the lives of all Vedic people male and female, young and old, and born and unborn, and also of their domestic animals of all kinds, he was particularly interested in killing cows and human males.

That of all the domestic animals of the Vedic people it was

26 Of the verses (containing the words *toka* and *tanaya*) quoted here, only one (*RV*, 7.46.3) has these words in the plural number as *tokeṣu* and *tanayeṣu*. We have seen above (notes 23-24) that both Sāyana and Veṅkaṭamādhava take these words to mean sons and grandsons respectively.

27 See notes 14-15 and 23-24 above.

the cows which formed the special target of Rudra's attack, is also shown by a few other pieces of evidence. In 5.28, in which cows have been praised for yielding milk and thus promoting their owners' health and wealth and facilitating very greatly their performance of the sacrifices made particularly to Indra, and Indra has been expected to give these animals protection against the attack of enemies, an ardent desire for their protection from Rudra's weapon has been expressed in verse 7 c-d :

*mā vaḥ stena ṛṣata māghaśaṁsaḥ  
pari vo hetī Rudrasya vrjyāḥ ||*

"May neither the thief nor the evil-designer possess you [and] may Rudra's missile avoid you."

Similarly, in 10.169.1, a prayer has been made for the welfare of milch cows, and Rudra has been asked to be gracious to them :

*mayobhūr = vāto abhi vātūsrā  
ūrjasvatīr = oṣadhīr = ā rīśantām |  
pīvasvatīr = jīvadhanyāḥ pibantv =  
avasāya padvate Rudra mṛṇa ||*

"May the wind blow towards [our milch] cows, being pleasant [to them] ; may [they] eat succulent herbage all around ; may [they] drink [waters] rich in life and fatness ; to [our] food having [four] legs (i.e. to our milch kine) be gracious, O Rudra."

In 1.43.1-2, it is said :

*kad = Rudrāya pracetase mīlhuṣṭamāya tavyase |  
vocema śaṁtamaṁ hṛde ||*

*yathā no Aditiḥ<sup>28</sup> karat paśve nṛbhyo<sup>29</sup> yathā gave |  
yathā tokāya<sup>30</sup> Rudriyam<sup>31</sup> //*

"To Rudra [who is] possessed of supreme wisdom [and is] most gracious [and] very strong, what shall we recite that shall be most pleasing to [his] heart, so that Aditi may grant to our [domestic] animals, to [our] men, to [our] kine, [and] to [our male] progeny the grace of Rudra?"

Although in the second of the last two verses, the word *paśu*, which has been taken by Sāyaṇa, Skandasvāmin and Mudgala to mean the domestic animals such as horses, buffaloes, etc.,<sup>32</sup> is sufficient for meaning the cows as well, the separate and particular mention of these animals by the word *go* shows

28 By *aditiḥ* Skandasvāmin means *anupakṣiṇo Rudraḥ* (undecayed Rudra), Veṅkaṭamādhava means *pṛthivī* (the earth), and Sāyaṇa and Mudgala mean *bhūmiḥ* (the earth). Th. Benfey translates it as 'sinlessness', and, probably following Skandasvāmin, Ludwig takes it to mean Rudra himself. But we shall see on a different occasion that the word means here the great ancient goddess Aditi, the mother of Mitra, Varuna, Aryaman and many others. We shall also try to explain the position of this goddess as one granting the grace of Rudra to his worshippers, to their sons, grandsons and others and to their domestic animals, particularly kine.

29-30 See above and below and also notes 14-15 and 23-24.

31 Skandasvāmin explains the word *Rudriyam* thus: *Rudriyam Rudr-ārham / yad = Rudra eva dātum = arhatī n = ānyaḥ kaścid = ity = arthaḥ*. *Rudriyam* = 'befitting Rudra', which means 'what Rudra only is fit for giving, [and none else]', and, following him, Wilson translates it as 'the gifts of Rudra'. Veṅkaṭamādhava, on the other hand, takes it to mean *bheṣajam* ('medicine', i.e., of Rudra), and Sāyaṇa and Mudgala follow him in explaining it as *Rudra-sambandhi-bheṣajam* (medicine connected with Rudra). Following Veṅkaṭamādhava, Sāyaṇa and Mudgala, Geldner translates it as *rudrische* [*Heilmittel*], '[medicine] belonging to Rudra'; but Grassmann and Ludwig render it respectively as *Rudra's Gunst* and *Rudrasegen* (both meaning 'the grace, or goodwill, of Rudra'), and Griffith follows them in translating it as 'the grace of Rudra'.

32 Cf. *paśve* explained as *asmady-āśva-mahiṣ-ādi-paśave* (Sāyaṇa); *sarva-śtra dvitīy-ārthe caturthī / paśum = āśvādi-paśu-jātam* (Skandasvāmin); *asma-diya-mahiṣ-ādi-paśave* (Mudgala).

that they had special importance as victims of Rudra's deadly weapon. As a matter of fact, Rudra had originally no soft corner in his heart for cows or other domestic animals of the Vedic people ; and this is shown by the fact that, although in the *Rgveda* the Vedic gods such as Indra, Soma and Bṛhaspati and also the Vedic priests, sacrificers (*yajamāna*) and herdsmen are called *go-pati* (lords or masters of cows),<sup>33</sup> even a bull (*ṛṣabha*) is called *aghnyānāṁ patiḥ* (i.e. *gavāṁ patiḥ*, lord or husband of those, i.e. cows, and not bulls, which are not to be killed),<sup>34</sup> and Pūṣan is called *paśupā* (guard of cattle),<sup>35</sup> Rudra is never called *go-pati*, *gopā*, *paśu-pati* or *paśupā* anywhere in this Veda or is characterised by any other similar epithet which may associate him with cows or other animals as their lord or protector. On the other hand, as we have already seen above, earnest prayer has been made to Rudra in more verses than one for granting safety to cows, horses and other domestic animals and this dreaded god's weapon has been said unequivocally to be *go-han* particularly in 1.114.10, in spite of the fact that in as many as three verses (2.33.4, 7 and 15) the god himself has been addressed as *ṛṣabha* (bull) for his ferocity and abnormal physical strength. This mention of Rudra's weapon as *go-han* is highly significant and definitely shows the god's apathy to cows.

In the second of the two verses (1.43.1-2) quoted above, there are the words *nṛ* and *toka* used in the plural and the

33 For mention, as *go-pati*, of (i) Indra, see *RV*, 1.101.4, 3.30.21, 3.31.21, 4.24.1, 4.30.22, 6.45.21, 7.18.4, 7.98.6 (= *Atharvaveda*, Hoshiarpur ed., 20.87.6), 8.21.3, 8.62.7, 8.69.4 (= *Atharvaveda*, 20.22.4 and 20.92.1), 9.19.2, 10.47.1 and 10.108.3 ; (ii) Soma, see 9.19.2, 9.35.5, and 9.72.4 ; (iii) Bṛhaspati, see 10.67.8 (= *Atharvaveda*, 20.91.8) ; (iv) a priest, see 8.14.2 (= *Atharvaveda*, 20.27.2) and 10. 166.1 ; (v) a sacrificer, see 6.28.3 ; and (vi) a herdsman, see 10.19.3.

34 *RV*, 10.102.7 ; also 9.97.34.

35 *Ibid.*, 6. 58.2.

singular number respectively to denote the persons for whom Rudra's favour is sought. Of these words, the former (which, being used in the plural number as *nṛbhyaḥ*, might appear to be an *ekāśeṣa* meaning both men and women) must be taken here to mean only the male members of the Vedic society, which was patriarchal and in which the males formed the fighting class, as is evident from the fact that the arrows shot from the bows in war have been called *pūruṣ-ādaḥ* (man-eating) in 10.27.22 which says :

*vṛkṣe-vṛkṣe niyatā mīmāyad = gauṣ =*  
*tato vayah pra patān pūruṣ-ādaḥ |*  
*ath = edaṁ viśvaṁ bhuvanaṁ bhayāta*  
*Indrāya sunvad = ṛsaye ca śikṣat ||*<sup>36</sup>

“Bound fast to every tree-[made bow the bow-string made of the sinewy of] the cow, [being drawn], makes a sound, and thence the man-consuming [arrows resembling] birds fly forth. Then all this world, though possessing the [Soma]-juice for Indra and making payments to the Rṣi, gets frightened.”

In commenting on the second of the said two verses (1.43.1-2), Sāyaṇa and Mudgala rightly explain *nṛbhyaḥ* as *asmādiya-puruṣebhyaḥ*.<sup>37</sup> According to Skandasvāmin, this word means *paricārakān manuṣyān* (men who are servants or attendants). Grassmann and Geldner translate it as *den Maennern* (to the men), and Ludwig as *Leuten* (men).

36 The first half (*vṛkṣe-vṛkṣe niyatā mīmāyad = gauṣ = ..... pūruṣ-ādaḥ*) of this verse has been quoted and explained by Yāska in his *Nirukta*, 2.6 (Vol. I, p. 147).

37 For the same meaning of the word *nṛ*, see also *RV*. 1.43.6 (in which the word *nṛbhyaḥ*, used side by side with *nāribhyaḥ*, has been explained by Sāyaṇa and Mudgala as *puruṣebhyaḥ*), 1.8.6 (in which *naraḥ*, plural of *nṛ*, has been explained as *puruṣāḥ* by Sāyaṇa and as *manuṣyāḥ* by Skandasvāmin and Veṅkaṭamādhava), 1.21.2 (in which *naraḥ* is explained by Sāyaṇa, Skandasvāmin and Mudgala as *manuṣyā ṛtvijaḥ*), 1.124.12, 1.127.6, 3.54.4, etc., (in which the word is taken by Sāyaṇa and Veṅkaṭamādhava to mean *manuṣyāḥ*), and so on.

As to the word *toka* used in the said verse it may be stated that, although in their comments on this verse Sāyaṇa, Skandasvāmin and Mudgala take it to mean *apatya* ('offspring', which may point to both 'son' and 'daughter'), they as well as Skandasvāmin interpret it invariably as *putra* (son) in many other verses<sup>38</sup> and that we have shown it to be meaning *putra* in 1.114.6 and 8 quoted above and in 2.33.14 cited below. So, this word also must be taken to mean *putra* in the said verse.

The baneful nature of Rudra which made him direct his deadly weapon mainly against the cows and the human males, finds further support in the fact that the weapons of the Maruts also, who are often said to be Rudra's sons and followers, have been described merely as *go-hā* (cow-slaying) and *nṛ-hā* (man-slaying) in 7.56.17 c-d, in which prayer has been made to the Maruts :

*āre gohā nṛhā vadho vo astu*  
*sumnebhīr = asme vasavo*<sup>39</sup> *namadhvam ||*

"Far [away from us, O Maruts,] be your deadly weapon which kills cows and men. Ye Vasus, incline yourselves to us with blessings."

Although, like their father and leader Rudra, the Maruts also did not limit their slaughter only to cows and men (i. e. human males), the mention of their weapon only as 'cow-slaying' and 'man-slaying' must be taken to point unmistakably to their special fascination for killing cows and male human beings. That the slaughter of cows (and not of bulls or oxen) particularly pleased the Maruts is also evident from the

38 Such as *RV*, 1.31.12, 64.14, 84.17, 92.13, 100.11, 147.1 ; 2.2.11, 9.2, 25.2, 30.5 ; 3.53.18 ; 4.1.3, 12.5, 24.3, 41.6 ; and so on.

39 Sāyaṇa and Veṅkaṭamādhava take *vasavaḥ* to be an epithet of the Maruts and explain it as *vāsakāḥ* and *vāsaitārah* respectively. Geldner translates it as *Guten* (the good ones), Grassmann as *gut* (good) in his *Woerterbuch*, col. 1235, and H. D. Velankar as 'O gods' (*Rgveda, Maṇḍala VII*, p. 129).

five-day<sup>40</sup> sacrificial rite called Pañcaśārādiya,<sup>41</sup> a *Marut-stoma*, which required the slaughter of seventeen heifers annually in autumn for five consecutive years.

It is to be noted particularly that in the Rgvedic verses quoted above the word for cows, which formed the special targets of Rudra's deadly weapon, is *go*, and not *vṛṣa*, *vṛṣabha*, *ukṣan* or anything else which unmistakably means 'bull' or 'ox', although, as has been said above, Rudra himself has been addressed as *vṛṣabha* (bull) in as many as three verses. In 6.28.7 and 10.169.1 quoted above, we have seen that protection from Rudra's weapon was sought not for the bulls or oxen but for the cows, which gave milk and contributed greatly to the health and prosperity of their masters and also to the performance of their sacrificial rites. So, among the domestic animals of the Vedic people it was the cows (and not bulls or oxen) which specially interested Rudra as the objects of his slaughter. This position of cows in the eyes of the dreaded god is further shown by a peculiar domestic sacrifice called Śūlagava<sup>42</sup> which, though recorded as late as in the Gṛhyasūtras and in no other earlier work, must have originally been a non-Vedic popular rite of great antiquity. As is shown by the earliest extant

40 According to the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* (referred to below), the Pañcaśārādiya is an Ekāha (one-day) sacrifice.

41 For description of this sacrifice, see *Taṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa* (alias *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, KSS ed.), 21.14; *Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra* (AS ed.), 18.11; *Āpastamba Śrautasūtra* (AS ed.), 22.20.9-19, and 21.1-11; *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra* (CSS ed.), 23.4.3-27; *Lātyāyana Śrautasūtra* (AS ed.), 9.12.10-14; *Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra* (ĀnSS ed.), II. 4.2.29-30 (i.e., 10.2.29-30); *Śāṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra* (AS ed.), 14.62; and *Ārṣeyakalpa* (alias *Maṣaka Kalpasūtra*, ed. W. Caland, Leipzig, 1908), 8.11, a, b. See also *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* (ed. Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra, Nagpur, 1954), 2.175-77, and *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (ĀnSS ed.), 2.7.10-12.

42 A critical examination of this sacrifice will be made on a different occasion.

Gṛhyasūtra, viz., that of Baudhāyana,<sup>43</sup> and also indicated by the *Mānava Gṛhyasūtra* as well as by the Gṛhyasūtras of Pāraskara, Hiraṇyakeśin and Āpastamba,<sup>44</sup> this rite in its origin required the slaughter of a cow (and not bull or ox) outside the village and the offer of its omentum (*ṇapā*) and some other cut-off parts of its body to Rudra there, after roasting the former with a spit (*śūla*) and cooking it as well as the cut-off parts in an earthen vessel, so that this dreaded god might be satisfied and made to go away, being thus dissuaded from entering the village and doing mischief to these animals kept there. So, there is hardly any doubt that Rudra's attack was directed much more against the cows than against the bulls or oxen. We shall explain on a different occasion what made Rudra have this peculiar choice; but it may be mentioned here that the cows were held in high esteem and valued very much by the Vedic people as the extremely important sources of their food and wealth, as well as the main bases of their religious

43 *Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra* (Mysore ed.), 2.7.1-30 (particularly Sūtras 4-10, in which the pronouns *enām*, *tām* and *tasyai* for, and the adjectives *juṣṭām*, *udicīna-padīm* and *saṃjñaptāyāi* of, the word *go* used in Sūtra 4 are to be specially noted).

44 *Mānava Gṛhyasūtra* (ed. F. Knauer, St. Petersburg, 1897), 2.5.1-6 (in which, in spite of the use of the word *go* in the name *śūlagava*, there is no express statement that an ox is to be sacrificed on this occasion); *Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra* (Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay), 3.8.1-17 (particularly Sūtra 5, which says that from the designation of the rite, in which the word *go* has been used, the slaughter of a cow instead of an ox is permissible—*gaur=ṇā śabdāt*); *Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛhyasūtra* (ed. J. Kirste, Vienna, 1889), 2.8.1-11 (particularly Sūtras 2-4, which prescribe that after two huts are constructed to the west of the kindled fire, the spit-ox is to be placed in the southern one, a bountiful cow, considered to be the consort of the spit-ox, is to be placed in the northern one, and a strong and robust young bull, considered to be the issue of the spit-ox and the cow, is to be placed in the space between the two huts); and *Āpastamba Gṛhyasūtra* (KSS ed.), 19.13 and 20.1-18 (particularly 20.1-3, which make the same prescription as that of the *Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛhyasūtra*, 2.8.2-4, stated above).



life due to their supply of milk and thereby of ghee, curd and butter. The great importance of cows in the life of the Vedic people and the necessity of their protection from the destructive hands of enemies explain why the sympathetic Vedic war-god Indra, and not the apathetic deity Rudra, has been praised as *go-pati* on a good number of occasions and the fierce and powerful Vedic god Soma has been called so in a few verses.

As to Rudra's greater interest in killing the male members of the Vedic society than the females, we have already referred to the relevant verses of the *Rgveda*. In the *Taittiriya Samhitā* (1.8.6.1-2) and the *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā* (1.10.4 [24]), there is a passage in which prayer has been made to Rudra :

*bheṣajam gave=śvāya puruṣāya bheṣajam |*  
*atho asmabhyam bheṣajam subheṣajam yath=āsati |*  
*sugam meṣāya meṣyai ||*

“[Give, O Rudra,] medicine for cow [and] for horse, medicine for male [human being] and medicine for us, so that [it] may be rich in healing [and] good (or beneficent) for ram [and] ewe.”

It is to be noted that, in this passage,<sup>45</sup> there is use of the word *puruṣāya* besides *asmabhyam*, even though the latter is sufficient for meaning the male members (*puruṣa*) as well.

Two more passages, both addressed to Rudra, may be cited here in this connection from the *Yajurveda Samhitās*. One of them, occurring in *VS*, 16.3, *KS*, 17.11 (35), *MS*, 2.9.2 (16), *KKS*, 27.1 (lines 5-6 at p. 113) and *TS*, 4.5.1.1-2, runs as follows :

<sup>45</sup> It also occurs in *KS*, 9.7 [31] and *KKS*, 8.10 (lines 19-20 at p. 87) and in *VS*, 3.59 and *S'B*, 2.6.2.11, with some variation in reading, thus : (a) *KS*, *KKS*.—*bheṣajam gave=śvāya puruṣāya sugam (KKS—subhagam) meṣāya meṣyai | atho asmabhyam bheṣajam subheṣajam yath=āsati ||* (b) *VS*, *S'B*.—*bheṣajam=ast bheṣajam gave=śvāya puruṣāya bheṣajam | sukhām eṣmāya meṣyai ||* (omitting *asmabhyam*).

*yām=iṣuḥ giriśanta haste bibharṣy = astave |*  
*śivām giritra (MS—giriśa) tām kuru mā*  
*hiṁsīḥ puruṣaṁ jagat ||*<sup>46</sup>

“The arrow which, O haunter of mountains, thou bearest in thy hand to shoot, that make [thou] blissful, O guardian of mountains ! Injure not the male [human being and] the [other] moving [creatures, such as human beings, cows, horses, etc].”<sup>47</sup>

The other passage has been given in *KS*, 17.16 (53) and *KKS*, 27.6 (line 19 at p. 117 and line 1 at p. 118) thus :

*drāpe andhasaspate daridra nīlaloḥita |*  
*āsām prajānām=eṣām puruṣānām=eṣām paśūnām |*  
*mā bhair=mā rauṇ (KKS—ruṇ) mā naḥ kīncan=āmamat ||*<sup>48</sup>

The *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (4.5.10.1) has it as follows :

*drāpe andhasaspate daridra nīlaloḥita |*  
*eṣām puruṣānām = eṣām paśūnām mā bher = mā = 'ro mo*  
*eṣām kiṁ can = āmamat ||*

“O chaser, lord of the Soma plants, O cleaver, blue-and-red, frighten not, nor injure, these male [ human beings and ] these cattle ; let none of these be injured.”

It is hardly possible to overlook the word *puruṣa* used, besides *jagat*, *prajā*, and *paśu* in these passages, and also the direc-

46 For this verse, see also *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, 3.6.

47 Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara explain *jagat* respectively as *jaṅgamaṁ ca gav ādi* and *jaṅgamaṁ = anyad = api gay-āśv-ādīkam* in their commentaries on *VS*, 16.3 (*yām = iṣuḥ giriśanta*, etc., quoted above), and Sāyaṇa as *manuṣya-vyatiriktaṁ = api jaṅgamaṁ gay-ādi* in commenting on *TS*, 4.5.1.1-2.

48 This passage occurs in *VS*, 16.47, thus :

*drāpe andhasaspate daridra nīlaloḥita |*  
*āsām prajānām=eṣām paśūnām mā bher=mā roṇ mo ca*  
*naḥ kīncan=āmamat ||*

The *MS*, 2.9.9 (36) has it as follows :

*drāpe andhasaspate daridra nīla loḥita |*  
*eṣām paśūnām = āsām prajānām mā bhair = mā ruṇ mo ca naḥ kīncan*  
*= āmamat ||*

It is to be noted that, in both these *Saṁhitās*, the passage lacks the words *eṣām puruṣānām*.

tion *pratipūruṣam* = *eka-kapālān* = *nirvapaty* = *ekam* = *atirikta*<sup>49</sup> which requires the offer of one cake to Rudra for each male member (cf. *pratipūruṣam*)<sup>50</sup> of a family and also of one cake more, in the rite called Tryambaka-homa which forms part of Sākamedha. From all these, it is evident that the protection of males from the destructive weapon of Rudra was a matter of great concern to the Vedic people.

Here we cannot help mentioning two other peculiar features of the character of Rgvedic Rudra.

In view of some highly interesting statements made in a number of verses (which will be subjected to a critical analysis on a different occasion), it is hardly possible to deny the fact that Rudra was naturally antagonistic to Vedic sacrifices and was thus a definitely unscrupulous and extremely powerful destroyer of these even in the absence of the least provocation from the sacrificers. In order to advance this sinister work of his, Rudra took more care to kill those men of wealth among the Vedic people who encouraged and financed the performance of these generally expensive religious rites. Thus, in 2.33.14,<sup>51</sup> the priests are found to pray to this god for sparing the lives of their wealthy patrons :

*pari no hetī Rudrasya vṛjyāh*  
*pari tveṣasya durmatir = mahī gāt |*  
*ava sthīrā maghavadbhyas = tanuṣva*  
*mīḍhyas = tokāya tanayāya mṛṣa ||*

49 For this line, see *TS*, 1.8.6.1. See also *KS*, 36.14 (pp. 361-62); *TB*, 1.6.10.1, and *S<sup>2</sup>B*, 2.6.2.4.

50 For *puruṣa* (in *pratipūruṣam*) meaning a male [human being], see Mahādhara on *VS*, 3.57.

51 For this verse, see also *VS*, 16.50, *KS*, 17.16(56) *MS*, 2.9.9(39), *KKS*, 27.6 (lines 7-8 at p. 118) and *TS*, 4.5.10.4. V. 1 in *VS*, *KS*, *MS*, *KKS* and *TS* — *pari no* (*VS*, *MS*, *KKS*—*no*) *Rudrasya hetir = vṛjyāktu ... durmatir = aghāyoh | ... tanayāya mṛṣa* (*TS*—*mṛṣa*).

52 According to Sāyana, *durmatih* means *duḥkhakārīṇi buddhiḥ*. Wilson translates it as 'displeasure', Griffith as 'wrath', Geldner as *Ungnade* (displeasure), Grassmann as *Ungunst* (disfavour, unkindness) in his *Rigveda*. Vol. I,

“May Rudra’s missile pass by us ; may the great sinister design of the [god] blazing [with rage] pass [away], avoiding [us]. Unspread [O Rudra,] the steady [ bows, turning them away] from [our] wealthy [patrons] ; O dispenser of good, be gracious to [our] sons and [other male] descendants.”

From this verse it is evident that Rudra not only preferred to take the lives of the Vedic males but was also more particular in aiming his weapon at the wealthy patrons of Vedic sacrifices than at the poor. It is a fact that, in the *Rgveda*, there are a few other verses in which the priests are found to pray to Agni, Indra and other gods for yielding protection to their wealthy people and leading wise men<sup>53</sup> of resources, who are undoubtedly the institutors or patrons of highly expensive sacrificial rites. For instance, in 1.31.12, Agni is addressed thus :

*tvam no Agne tava deva pāyubhir=*  
*maghono rakṣa tanvaś= ca vāndya |*  
*trātā tokasya tanaye gavām= asy-*  
*animesaṁ rakṣamāṇas = tāva vrata //*

“Thou, O Agni, god, save with thy succours our wealthy [patrons] and [our frail] bodies, O venerable [one]. Thou art the protector of [our male] progeny, guarding [them] incessantly in [respect of] the offspring of the cows [useful] in thy [sacrificial] rite.”

p. 43, and as *Misgunst* (envy, ill-will) and *Uebelwollen* (ill-will, malevolence, enmity) in his *Woeterbuch*, col. 616, and Ludwig also as *Uebelwollen*. The real import of the word and its importance and interest in correctly understanding the basic character of Rudra will be pointed out later on a different occasion.

53 They were ‘wise’, probably because they knew fully well the correct methods of performing sacrifices and were quite conscious of the manifold benefits of these rites.

In 1.54.11, Indra is invoked as follows :

*sa śevīdhom — adhi dhā dyumnam — asme  
mahi kṣatram janāṣāl — Indra tavyam |  
rakṣā ca no maghonaḥ pāhi sūrīn<sup>54</sup>  
rāye ca naḥ svapatyā iṣe dhāh ||*

“Such [thou], Indra, bestow upon us bliss-increasing glory [and] great, highly increased [and] people-overpowering might ; and save our wealthy [patrons], protect [our] wise men [who are liberal to us, and] vouchsafe us wealth and food with excellent offspring.”

It is to be noted that, in these verses, Agni and Indra, who, as we shall see on a different occasion, were looked upon by the Vedic people as their extremely loving friends and protectors, are asked, not to refrain from doing harm to the lives of their wealthy patrons and liberal chiefs and also to those of the cows, but to give protection to them, evidently from the destructive hands of their enemies, particularly the malevolent and naturally antagonistic god Rudra and his followers. Thus, it was mainly from these dreaded gods that the Vedic priests apprehended harm to the lives of their wealthy patrons and

54 Sāyaṇa and Mudgala explain the word as *viduṣo* = 'nyān *api* (others also who are learned) ; but Skandasvāmin and Veṅkaṭamādhava take it to mean *stotṛīn* (eulogists). Wilson translates it as 'those who are wise', Griffith as 'princes', and Grassmann and Geldner as *Opferherren* (masters of sacrifice) ; but Ludwig renders it as *die Sūri* (the Sūris). See *RV*, 1.73.9— ... .. *iśānāsaḥ pitṛ-vittasya rāyo vi sūrayaḥ śata-himā no aśyuh ||*, which should be construed as ... .. *pitṛ-vittasya rāya iśānāso naḥ sūrayaḥ śata-himā vi aśyuh* and translated as "Being masters of [their] paternal wealth may our [leading] wise men particularly enjoy [it] for a hundred winters", and 1.48.4—*Uṣo ye te pra yāmeṣu yuñjate mano dānāya sūrayaḥ*, "those [leading] wise men who direct their mind to donation, as you proceed, O Uṣas." From these, it is evident that the Sūris were wealthy people who instituted or patronised Vedic sacrifices and made donations to the Vedic priests.

cows ; and consequently they became very anxious for their protection from the destructive weapons of these gods.

The peculiar traits of Rudra's character noted above make it clear that he cannot be, in his origin, an Aryan god at all or have a purely natural basis, nor can he be a form of Indra or Agni, or the chief of the souls of the dead, or a god or demon of mountain and forest, or anything else hitherto suggested by scholars, native and foreign. It is well known that although 'the unhoused beasts of the field are specially at the mercy of the pitiless storm', no purposeful discrimination can possibly be made by it or by thunder or fire in killing or terrifying these helpless creatures or the human beings who fall victims to their attack, nor can these natural phenomena have any special interest in destroying the sacrificial rites of the Vedic people or the capacity for finding out the wealthy institutors or patrons of these rites for subjecting them to death before others. The fact that Indra is a loving and protecting god of the Vedic people and is often praised as *go-pati* (lord or master of cows), whereas Rudra is basically a malevolent, mischievous and extremely unsocial and non-co-operating deity<sup>55</sup> and an avowed killer of cows (*go-han*) and their masters of the Vedic fold, particularly male, shows that he can never be a form of Indra ; nor, due to his originally ignoble character,<sup>56</sup> can he be the celestial father or a development of Dyaus<sup>57</sup> on the physical side. If he were really the chief of the souls of the dead, or a god or demon of mountain and forest, or the moon, or an ancient cannibalistic death demon raised to the position of a

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55-56 These features of Rudra's character will be brought out in another article with the citation and interpretation of the relevant texts.

57 Dyaus, a 'lofty' or noble deity of the Indo-Europeans, is said in the *Rgveda* to be the parent of Indra, Agni, Sūrya, Parjanya, the Ādityas, the Āśvins, the Maruts and the Aṅgirases and, like most of the great gods, called *asura* on several occasions.

high god, or anything else suggested by scholars, ancient and modern, we find no cogent reason why he should carefully discriminate between the victims of his weapon, why he should have his residence in the north, and not in the south like Yama (the god of death) or in the east or west like the moon rising in the east and setting in the west, why he should like more to slay the cows than to kill the bulls (or oxen) and other domestic animals of the Vedic people, and why the wealthy institutors and patrons of sacrifices should attract his alarming notice more than the poor people of the Vedic society. So, we have to make fresh investigations into his origin and real nature, so that we may be able to trace successfully and correctly the course of change or development through which he had passed before his appearance in the *Rgveda* as a high and powerful god and thereby to explain in a relevant way the various and not rarely contradictory functions and epithets characterising him as a malevolent as well as benevolent god.<sup>58</sup>

58 Abbreviations used—ĀnSS = Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, Poona; AS = Asiatic Society, Calcutta; Com., Coms. = Commentary, Commentaries; CSS = Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares; ed. = edition; KKS = *Kaṭṭhaka Sāṃhitā* (ed. Raghu Vira, Lahore); KSS = Kashi Sanskrit Series, Benares; KS = *Kāṭhaka Sāṃhitā* (ed. Śrīpādaśarman, Bombay); MS = *Maitrāyaṇī Sāṃhitā* (ed. Śrīpādaśarman, Bombay); NSP = Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay; OST = *Original Sanskrit Texts* by J. Muir; RV = *Rgveda*; S'B. = *S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa* (Acyuta-grantha-mālā, Benares); TB. = *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (ĀnSS.); TS = *Taittirīya Sāṃhitā* (ĀnSS); VS = *Vājasaneyī Sāṃhitā* (NSP). [In spite of the author's great erudition, the interpretations do not fully satisfy us.—Ed.]

## NOTES

### EROTIC TERRACOTTAS FROM LOWER BENGAL

DILIP K. CHAKRABARTI AND  
KALMAN GLANTZ

A valid problem in the history of Indian art should be to enquire into the origins of the post-Gupta and early mediaeval erotic reliefs in stone of which Khajuraho in Bundelkhand provides such good examples of the period between 850 and 1050 A. D. Apart from the well-known Orissan examples typified at Konarak (13th century A. D.), they occur on some of the Brāhmanical rock-cut temples at Ellora in Maharashtra (8th century A. D.) and on the Hoyasalesvara temple (12th century A. D.) at Halebid in Mysore. Though not always in stone, the erotic motif in art must have persisted to a still later period. As late as the second half of the 19th century, John Beames<sup>1</sup> noted the depiction of *Śata-saṅgama-prakāra*, 'hundred ways of having physical union', on the walls of a hall in the palace of the king of Al in Orissa, who, he thought, was the direct descendant of the mediaeval Gajapati kings of the same region. And, primarily in the form of bronzes, the motif was a dominant element among the *yab-yum* and similar other figures of the mediaeval Buddhist iconography of India and Nepal. Before offering any causative explanation, it may be worthwhile to trace the root of this erotic motif in Indian sculpture and iconography, which has apparently a reasonably wide distribution in both space and time.

<sup>1</sup> John Beames, *Memoirs of a Bengal Civilian*, London, 1961, pp. 245-46. [Prof. N. K. Sahu informs me that Beames' Al is really the estate of Ali (abolished in 1952) in the Cuttack District. The ruler was a scion of the family of Mukundadeva (1559-68 A. D.), to which the estate was offered by Rājā Mānasimha after his conquest of Orissa in 1592 A. D. He was therefore not a descendant of the Sūryavaṁśī Gajapatis.—Ed.]



It is in this context that a class of early historic erotic terracottas from Lower Bengal assumes meaning. Early historic sites in India, particularly those from the Gangetic valley, abound in mass-produced moulded terracottas of diverse themes showing a close correspondence with the contemporary sculptures both in content and form.

Some of them from the lower Gangetic valley depict men and women in coitus, the variety of which can be matched only by the later temple reliefs of Konarak and Khajuraho and the sexual postures described in the *Kāmasūtra*. These are not what are known in Indian art history as *mithuna* plaques,<sup>2</sup> terracotta or sculptural pieces in which a man and a woman usually stand side by side, occasionally in a caressing mood. In this particular genre, the emphasis is exclusively on the copulatory aspect of the male-female union.

Except for occasional brief references,<sup>3</sup> these terracottas have remained unpublished. Our personal experience suggests that the cupboards of the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, Calcutta University, and the Museum, Directorate of Archaeology, Government of West Bengal, two principal places where early historic collection from Lower Bengal can be studied, possess literally hundreds of them. Indian Museum, Calcutta, also possesses some.

The number of illustrations taken up for the present brief note, whose purpose is to draw attention to this type of early terracottas as a cultural-historical entity, solely depended on their availability and should by no means be considered repre-

2 For the *mithuna* plaques in terracotta, see C. C. Dasgupta, *Origin and Evolution of Indian Clay Sculpture*, Calcutta, 1961, pp. 174-76.

3 *Indian Archaeology—a Review*, 1954-55, Plate XXXIX; 1957-58, Plate LXXIII, B and C; 1959-60, Plate LIV, 9 and 11. Also P.C. Dasgupta, 'Early Terracottas from Chandraketugarh', *Lalit Kala*, No. 6, October, 1959, p. 50.

sentative of all the varieties and sites involved. All the specimens are moulded plaques, suggestive of extensive manufacture.

(1) Site Chandraketugarh : The woman seems to recline on a couch with her legs wide apart ; one of the legs seems to touch the ground ; the man stands in a slightly stooping fashion.

(2) Site Chandraketugarh : The woman sits on a couch and holds up both her thighs ; the man kneels over her. This particular posture seems to find reflection in the *Kāmasūtra* (Part II, Chapter VI, Sūtra 22) : "when the woman holds up both her thighs, it is called *Bhugnaka* or the rising position."<sup>4</sup>

(3) Site Chandraketugarh : The woman is kneeling on all fours ; the man kneels over her from behind. The animal fashion implied has been suggested in the *Kāmasūtra* (*op. cit.*, Sūtras 37, 39).<sup>5</sup>

(4) Site Tamluk : The man reclines on a high-backed couch with his feet touching the ground, the woman sits on his lap. P. C. Dasgupta<sup>6</sup> refers to it as an example of *coitus revertus* ; but the term is inappropriate as the situation here is not exactly a reverse one.

(5) Site Chandraketugarh : The man is standing and supports the woman with her legs entwined around his waist. There is a reference to this posture in the *Kāmasūtra* (*op. cit.*, Sūtra 36).<sup>7</sup> This has an exact parallel in the posture of the left-hand couple on the south-east wall of the subsidiary shrine of the Lakṣmaṇa temple at Khajuraho.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana*, trans. S. C. Upadhyay, Bombay, 1963, p. 117.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 118-19.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 50.

<sup>7</sup> Upadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

<sup>8</sup> Kanwar Lal, *Immortal Khajuraho*, Delhi, 1965, Plate 223, left-hand couple.

(6) Site Chandraketurgarh : The central theme shows a woman sitting on a man's lap. The couple is surrounded by a number of subsidiary figures, probably all female. An almost identical relief is depicted in the third row of the south wall of the Viśvanātha temple at Khajuraho.<sup>9</sup>

Chronologically these terracottas have to be placed in the Śuṅga-Gupta period (roughly 2nd century B. C. to 5th century A. D.) of Indian history. Apart from the stylistic considerations which are the usual chronological yardsticks of the Indian terracottas, an appreciation of the archaeological context is necessary in these cases. Illustration No. 4 occurs in Period II at Tamluk (ancient Tāmralipta), which has been dated to the 3rd and 2nd centuries B. C.,<sup>10</sup> while another piece from Chandraketurgarh (not illustrated here) is from a context which has been described as belonging to the early Gupta age, 4th century A.D. or thereabouts.<sup>11</sup>

An associated problem is that of distribution. Are these terracottas confined to Lower Bengal or do they also occur at the comparable early historical sites in the middle and upper stretches of the Gangetic valley and elsewhere ? A preliminary investigation among the published reports on the different middle and upper Ganges valley sites has failed to reveal any specimen ; but there is a good deal of possibility of their lying unpublished. On the basis of the available evidence, however, the present authors suggest that the core area of distribution was Lower Bengal.

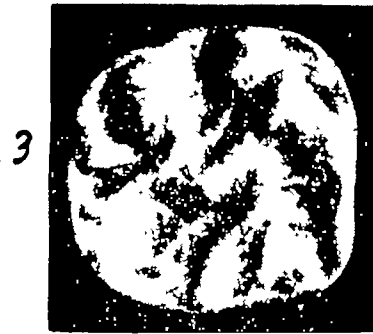
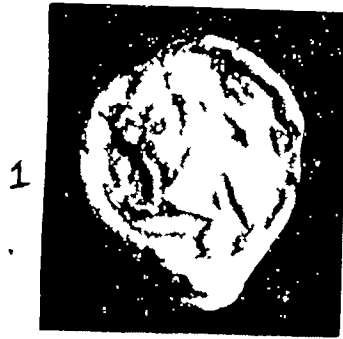
On a purely cultural-historical level these terracottas carry a number of implications. The varieties employed in depicting physical union in a medium like clay suggest that there was a

9 *Ibid.*, Plate No. 205.

10 *Indian Archaeology—a Review, 1954-55*, p. 20.

11 *Ibid.*, 1957-58, p. 52.

PLATE III



Figs 1-6. Erotic Terracottas (pp. 149ff.).

PLATE IV



Fig. 1. Brahmā Temple, Khajuraho—from the south (pp. 155ff.).

Fig. 2. Laksmāna Temple, Khajuraho—from the north (*loc. cit.*).

systematic body of erotic knowledge in the Gangetic valley at least as early as the 2nd century B.C. The tradition is likely to be earlier ; but it is only in this period (Śunga period) that the life of the common people with its diversity of themes finds an elaborate reflection in Indian art, in terracotta as well as sculpture.<sup>12</sup> This in turn offers a corroboration for the hypothesis that Vātsyāyana (before 400 A.D.)<sup>13</sup> was drawing upon an extensive earlier knowledge of the subject. One also wonders if he did not belong to this part of India himself.

Secondly, these terracottas impart a historical-cultural perspective to the erotic representations in sculpture typified at Khajuraho and other places from the early mediaeval period onwards. As has been noted, in the case of two illustrations at least (Nos. 5 and 6), the identity in form between the terracottas and Khajuraho reliefs is unmistakable. These terracottas definitely suggest an element of continuity in Indian erotic iconography. Moreover, the fact that they were apparently produced on a mass scale for circulation among the common people of the day should go a long way in dispelling the usual bias of explaining the later day temple reliefs almost exclusively in terms of metaphysical abstractions. A pertinent problem at this stage is to ask why the erotic motif switched over from terracotta to stone on an apparently large and wide scale from the post-Gupta period onwards, but that falls outside the scope of the present preliminary note.

The final issue should be concerned with the basic causative factor behind the growth of this type of terracotta. These suggest a sexual behaviour which obviously was codified and which, if illustration No. 6 is any indication, was not always shy

12 N. R. Ray, *Maurya and Śunga Art*, Calcutta, 1968, pp. 65-68.

13 H. C. Chakladar, *Social Life in Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1954, pp. 11-35.

of orgies. If one does not tend to explain them as examples of mere perversion, one has to look for a culturally plausible explanation.

A particular category of ethnographical data may be of some help at this point. Fertility rites leading to physical abandon seem to be a characteristic of many tribal agricultural groups both in ancient and modern times and these have also been handed over in a garbled form to many civilized contexts.<sup>14</sup> We suggest that the prehistoric ethnic group lying at the base of the early historic civilization in Lower Bengal possessed agricultural fertility rites in which sex held an important part. With the beginning of civilization, the erotic knowledge based on these sex practices got systematised and incorporated within the fabric of the civilized urban society in a sophisticated fashion. The early historic terracottas from Lower Bengal that have been discussed have a considerable element of sophistication ; but they also seem to carry memories of the tribal-agricultural days before the growth of History in the lower Gangetic Valley.\*

In any case, in the history of Indian art, the erotic sculptural motif beginning around 800 A. D. should be considered a linear descendant of what began in terracotta about one thousand years earlier.

14 R. Briffault, *The Mothers*, Vol. III, London, 1927, pp. 196-209 ; N. N. Bhattacharya, *Indian Mother Goddess*, Calcutta, 1971, pp. 34-37.

\*[If the erotic figures are related to the fertility cult, it is difficult to explain their appearance on buildings. If, on the other hand, they are associated with popular beliefs regarding the safety of a construction, we may think that the erotic terracotta figures were preserved by the people in their houses for the latter's safety against lightning, fire, etc.—Ed.]



## DATE OF THE BRAHMĀ TEMPLE AT KHAJURAHO<sup>1</sup>

L. K. TRIPATHI

The temples of Khajuraho have been a subject of study since Cunningham published their detailed and scientific account in the *ASR*, Vol. II, 1871, pp. 412-38 ; cf. Vol. X, 1880, pp. 16-22 ; Vol. XXI, 1885, pp. 55-69. Most of the scholars have assigned the Khajuraho group of temples to c. 950-1050 A. D.,<sup>2</sup> a date given by Cunningham to the Western Group of these temples. Krishna Deva<sup>3</sup> and Eliky Zannas,<sup>4</sup> who have studied these monuments in greater detail, extend this period, but have, more or less, followed Cunningham. They feel that the comparatively plain and small temples precede the Lakṣmaṇa temple (c. 954 A. D.). My own studies, however, show that all these so-called early temples including that of Brahmā are posterior to the Lakṣmaṇa temple.

The Brahmā temple is situated on the eastern bank of the

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1 I am thankful to the *U. G. C.* for financial assistance which enabled me to visit and make a first hand study of the monuments at a number of places including Khajuraho.

2 S. K. Saraswati, however, differs from them. He feels that the dated inscriptions of Khajuraho, originally found in the debris close to the temples with which they are now associated, do not belong to any of the present temples of the place. In his opinion, the extant temples of Khajuraho were built after the middle of the eleventh century. Cf. *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. V, pp. 564-76 ; *International Conference of Asian Archaeology, Summaries of Papers*, pp. 97-98.

3 Krishna Deva, 'The Temples of Khajuraho in Central India', in *Ancient India*, No. 15, pp. 43-65.

4 E. Zannas, *Khajuraho*, Hague, 1960.



Khajūr Sāgar lake and faces the east.<sup>5</sup> The temple stands on a plinth and originally consisted of a sanctum and a portico ; but the latter has not survived. In the construction of the temple, two different varieties of stone—granite and sandstone—have been used. The plinth, the basement, and the walls are of rough granite, while for the *jālīs*, the doorways and the superstructure, sandstone has been preferred.<sup>6</sup>

The sanctum of the temple is built on the *tri-ratha* plan with the eastern and western *bhadras* provided respectively with the main and a smaller doorway and the side ones with *jālīs* plain or containing diamonds.<sup>7</sup> In the interior, the sanctum is square in plan. It measures 19 feet square outside and 10½ feet inside. The walls are plain and rough. In the interior, the sanctum shows twelve pilasters, having plain square bases and plain bracket capitals, against the walls, the arrangement

5 E. Zannas' remark that 'facing eastwards, the Brahmā has the road on its north side and the lake on its south' (*op. cit.*, p. 135) is erroneous. It has the road on its east or front and the lake on its west or back.

6 According to Cunningham, "..... the jambs of the four doors and the 12 pillars placed round the inside of the walls, are all of granite, while the walls and roof are of sandstone" (*ASR*, Vol. II, p. 430). Zannas follows Cunningham and writes, "Sandstone and granite have been used in the construction : granite for the jambs of the four openings (three windows and one door) and for the twelve columns : the rest of the building is entirely of sandstone" (*op. cit.*, pp. 135-36). Krishna Deva (*op. cit.*, p. 51), though not elaborate, differs from them when, referring to the Brahmā and Lalagavān-Mahādeva temples, he writes, "... both with a simple plan and design and with the *śikhara* made of sandstone and the body of granite." In Cunningham's notes, the words sandstone and granite appear to have changed their places. Zannas following Cunningham has obviously erred.

7 E. Zannas' statement, "The three arms of the cross are provided with curious openings. A thick screen of perforated stone covers each one" (*op. cit.*, p. 136) appears to be based on Cunningham who writes, "Three of the openings are closed with thick stone lattices of simple but different patterns" (*ASR*, Vol. II, p. 430).

being such that, of the three pilasters at each angle, one stands at the corner and two beside the openings in the two adjacent sides. The ceiling is completed in three stages. In the two lower courses, the space has been gradually narrowed by placing thick plain stone-slabs across the corners. In the third stage, two stone-slabs finally cover the remaining space and form the ceiling. The central square part of the ceiling is decorated with a circular lotus flower having three rows of petals and a flat fruit, with *kīrti-mukhas* emitting scroll filling the corners. This central space is enclosed by two borders decorated respectively with flowers, alternately of circular and diamond form, and the meandering creeper design leaving a belt of plain space on the four sides. The sanctum contains a square *pīṭha* supporting a Caturmukha Śiva-liṅga. The *pīṭha* shows three mouldings : *padma*, sharp-edged *karṇikā*, and *kapota*. The *karṇikā* shows a gentle *kapota* and a similar *padma* attached on its upper and under sides respectively.

In the exterior, the sanctum shows vertically the usual four parts ; the base, the wall portion, the cornice, and the *sikhara*. The base shows seven mouldings and three recesses. The first moulding of the base is *kapota*, with two plain underlining annulets, showing plain hoods for half-diamond and scroll decorations. The second is a plain recess and the third a plain *kalāṣa* without any attached moulding. The fourth is a plain recess. The fifth is a plain *kumbha* in two courses. The sixth is a plain *paṭṭikā* moulded on the upper side as a *kapota* and underlined with an annulet. The seventh is a plain recess. The eighth is a *jādyā-kumbha* having broad lower fillet and decorated with plain half-diamonds. The ninth is a plain *kumbha* without the lower fillet. The tenth is a plain course for *khura*.

The walls are plain and divided into two zones by a plain central band. The cornice consists of two courses with a narrow intervening recess. The lower course is *kapota* deco-

rated with scrolls and half-diamonds. The upper is *padma* with bold fillet.

The *sikhara* shows a lower belt of niches and half niches containing diamond-shaped flowers. The niches on the *bhadrās* and on the sides of the entrance are crowned with *caitya*-window pediments flanked by the fore parts of elephants. The flanking half niches are surmounted by *pīḍhā-sikharas* each showing an *āmalaka* and a *kalāṣa*. The central niches on the *karṇa-rathas* contain smaller niches filled with diamond-shaped flowers. These smaller niches are formed of circular pilasters having a middle band, while the others have square pilasters also with a middle band. The *sikhara* is formed of sixteen *pīḍhās* with plain intervening spaces. The vertical space between each pair of *pīḍhās* here is less than that seen in the Lakṣmaṇa temple ; but it is more than that to be found in the Viśvanātha. The *pīḍhās* are decorated with scrolls and half-diamonds while their undersides are moulded as *padma* or inverted *kapota*. The *grīvā* is plain, but for a *padma* band with dropping anchor-shaped palmettos at the upper end touching the *ghanṭā*. The *ghanṭā* is decorated with two-tier small *caitya*-window pediments on the sides. In its form, the *ghanṭā* of the Brahmā temple is not so bold and high as that of the Lakṣmaṇa temple, but certainly more so than that of the Viśvanātha. The *āmalaka* is of the usual form without the beaded design intervening the ridges or band. Above the *āmalaka*, the *sikhara* shows *kharpara*, second *āmalaka*, and *kalāṣa* with foliage and *vījapūraka*.<sup>8</sup>

The main doorway to the sanctum is of the *sapta-śākha* variety. It is plain but for sculptures on the lower jambs and the lintel. The lower jambs show each two female figures. The

8 According to Cunningham, the *ghanṭā* was the topmost crowning element of the temple.

main figures are of the river-goddesses, Gaṅgā on the right and Yamunā on the left, both accompanied by their mounts and standing under a lotus-leaf canopy, now broken. They carry a lotus with stalk in the inner hand and an end of the scarf in the outer. The second female figure stands on the interior below the Nāga-bust, with snake-hood canopy and folded hands, and carries a jar supported with both her hands. The door-lintel shows four-armed Garuḍa-vāhana Viṣṇu in the centre as *lalāṭa-bimba* and seated four-armed figures of Brahmā and Śiva on the right and left respectively. The door-sill shows a half lotus flower within an arch in the middle and quarter flowers at the ends.

The doorway fitted into the back opening is similar to the front one, but without door-sill. The lower jambs show each two figures, a male and a female. The female figure on the right carries the end of her scarf in the right and a mutilated object in the upraised left hand. The left female figure probably carries a garland. Both stand under a lotus-leaf canopy. The male figures are represented on the exterior, with the right hand held in *kaṭyavalambita*-pose and the left carrying a *śakti*. Both wear *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. The lintel shows four-armed Viṣṇu sitting in *dhyāna-mudrā* in the centre and a two-armed seated figure with the right hand held in *abhaya-mudrā* and the left carrying a *kalāṣa*, at each corner.<sup>9</sup>

Originally, the temple possessed a portico of the same width as the sanctum; but it has disappeared; only its plinth survives and shows the two lower mouldings of the sanctum base.

9 Zannas' remark that "The door leading into the sanctum is also decorated, in the style characteristic of Khajuraho and of mediaeval India as a whole" (*op. cit.*, p. 136) is neither correct nor precise. The doorways of the present temple form exceptions at Khajuraho; their counterparts are, however, met with at such other places as Baroli, Atru, Chandrehe, etc.

Regarding the dedication of the present temple, Cunningham writes, "It is called Brahmā, from a four-faced symbol of that god, which is placed inside ; but as there is a figure of Gadādhara over the centre of the entrance, it is certain that the temple must have been dedicated to Viṣṇu."<sup>10</sup> Krishna Deva also thinks that it was 'originally dedicated to Viṣṇu'.<sup>11</sup> Eliky Zannas, however, writes, "Viṣṇu's presence on the lintel of the door leading into the sanctuary and above the window on the west-front, presents a further problem ; but it is likely that these stone blocks do not belong to the original structure, for they are of a different material from that of the rest of the temple."<sup>12</sup> The presence of Viṣṇu as *lalāṭa-bimba* on its eastern and western doorways and that of the Caturmukha Śiva-līṅga in the sanctum really make the ascertainment of its dedication a problem which is further complicated by the male figures on the lower jambs of the western doorway, which, on account of their *jaṭā-mukūṭas* and *śaktis*, may be regarded as Śaiva. Zannas tries to solve the problem by regarding the door lintels to be later foreign elements ; but they seem to be original parts of the doorways. As the image, in this case Śiva-līṅga, is easier to be removed, the evidence of the doorways should be regarded the weightier, unless their heterogeneity is proved beyond doubt. It is likely that the temple was originally dedicated to Viṣṇu and the Śiva-līṅga in the sanctum is a later substitute for the lost original image of Viṣṇu. But the Caturmukha Śiva-līṅga is also old and the *sarvatobhadra* plan of the sanctum, not known to have been used for a Vaiṣṇava temple, is in keeping with the four faces of the Śiva-līṅga. If it is regarded to be originally a Śaiva temple, one will have to

10 *ASR*, Vol. II, p. 430. He obviously mistakes the Caturmukha Śiva-līṅga for a symbol of Brahmā.

11 *Op. cit.*, p. 51.

12 *Op. cit.*, p. 135

think that the sculptor was not particular regarding the *lalāṭa-bimba* custom. It may be significant to note in this context that the doorway of the Lalagavān Mahādeva temple is completely bare and does not show even the *lalāṭa-bimba*. However, the Brahmā temple may be regarded as a Vaiṣṇava temple, though this affiliation should not be taken as beyond doubt.

Cunningham in his first report attributes the present temple to 'the eighth or ninth century' on the basis of 'the mixture of granite and sandstone in its construction' and absence of 'the usual *āmalaka* fruit' on its pyramidal tower.<sup>13</sup> Even in his later assessment, he regards it 'the next oldest building' after Causaṭh-yoginī and older than all the remaining temples, which are of sandstone.<sup>14</sup> Krishna Deva deals with the present temple and the Lalagavān Mahādeva together. He speaks of them as 'small structures with very simple *adhiṣṭhāna*-moulding',<sup>15</sup> and concludes, "As they belong to the transitional phase, when sandstone was introduced, but granite had not ceased to be used as building-material, they are later than the Causaṭh-yoginī temple, but are earlier than the earliest structures built entirely of sandstone at Khajuraho. These temples are, therefore, datable to *circa* 900."<sup>16</sup> Zannas, however, says, ".....difficult to support the theory that the use of granite is a proof of anti-

13 *ASR*, Vol. II, pp. 430-31. He writes, "... its general appearance is very ancient, and its antiquity is, I think, further shown by the mixture of granite and sandstone in its construction. ... The pyramidal roof also is surmounted by a bell-shaped ornament without the usual *āmalaka* fruit. I notice all these small differences of detail as I believe them to be so many evidences of superior antiquity, by which I infer that the temple must be older than those of the western group, and may therefore date as early as the eighth or ninth century."

14 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 57.

15 *Op. cit.*, p. 51.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 52.

quity ..... its ancient appearance suggests that it belongs to an early date.<sup>17</sup> Thus, it is evident that all the scholars assign an early date to the temple and in this the later writers have, more or less, followed Cunningham. The reasons for assigning such an early date to the temple are : its small size, the mixed use of granite and sandstone in its construction, and its simple appearance. There is nothing to show that the present temple is a royal edifice. If so, its small size and the use of locally available cheaper granite were most probably dictated by the limited resources of its builder. The size conditioned its plan. The temple is not totally devoid of decoration. Ornamentation is distinctly seen on its superstructure. The simple appearance of the bare walls merely reveals the inherent quality of the hard coarse-grained granite. Therefore, a comparison of the present temple with the Lakṣmaṇa and other royal sandstone monuments at the site in regard to the size and decoration may be regarded as an unsafe criterion for chronological considerations. There is nothing especially primitive about the temple. There is nothing in the architecture of the temple which may suggest for it a date earlier than that of the Lakṣmaṇa temple (954 A. D.). The eighth century date suggested by Cunningham was tentative. It is ruled out by its architectural features which were yet to develop in the eighth century. The *karṇikā*-moulding seen in the *pīṭha* of the Śiva-līṅga inside the sanctum does not appear in the eighth and also in the major part of the ninth century. The presence of *jāḍya-kumbha* in the mouldings of the temple base, the division of the wall-surface into two zones by a central band, the narrowness of the cornice recess intervening its mouldings, and the presence of a belt of niches and half niches containing diamond-shaped flowers on the lower part of the tower are late features and all put together disavow even the ninth century date for the

17 *Op. cit.*, p. 136.

temple. Two of its architectural features place it between the Lakṣmaṇa and Viśvanātha temples dated 954 and 1002 A. D. respectively. These are (1) spacing of the *piḍhās* in its tower and (2) form of the *ghaṇṭā*. A comparative study of the *piḍhā*-towers at the site reveals that the later examples show gradually increasing number of *piḍhās* which are set more closely resulting in an increasing verticality and refinement of the tower-form. Similarly, the *ghaṇṭā*, boldly conceived in the Lakṣmaṇa temple, gradually loses its boldness and height and becomes comparatively flat, perhaps with a view to organising it with the totality of the developing tower. Therefore, there is no evidence for placing the Brahmā temple anterior to the Lakṣmaṇa as held by scholars. The total evidence on the problem shows that it was built within a decade after the Lakṣmaṇa temple. It may be dated c. 965 A. D.



## MEANDER--SPIRAL MOTIF AND INDIAN PREHISTORIC POTTERY

ANIL CHANDRA PAL

In course of our study of Indian prehistoric pottery, we encounter certain motifs which we are inclined to regard as 'hall-marks' of the cultures in which they occur. In the case of some of these, for example, the meander-spiral motif, earlier writers have sometimes made claims for its cultural significance, suggesting that it shows evidence of contact over a wide area. Thus Gordon<sup>1</sup> claimed that spiral motifs are very scarce in India and even suggested their association with an intrusive group associated with the coming of iron.

We want to consider this special motif against the background of a wider culture and to examine whether its occurrence in Indian prehistoric context can be said to hold any significance. In so doing, we admit that we are treading upon a dangerous ground, and it is evident that a systematic study will ultimately call for a more exhaustive treatment than we can make here. It may also be true that our diffidence demonstrates nothing more than the limited value of this method, but nevertheless it seems worth attempting.

The representation of this design within two lines in a ribbon-like fashion has been described by H. Frankfort<sup>2</sup> as 'the rhythmic arrangement of the ribbons in their quality of substantialised lines'. The motif at the earliest stage was executed with continuous parallel wavy lines, and small dimples, hatch-

1 *Journ. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, Vol. LXXX, p. 66.

2 'Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East, Asia, Europe and the Aegean, and their Earliest Interrelations', *R. Anthropol. Inst., Occasional Papers*, No. 8, Vol. II, p. 26.

ing, dots and others were sometimes added to the design. Illustrations<sup>3</sup> of such continuous parallel wavy lines are found at many pre-Harappan sites.

At the next stage this design 'has actually or nearly, given up the ribbon character, and shows a continuous spiral design which by its continuity accentuated the circumference, and its up and down movement the convexity of the vessel'.<sup>4</sup> Summing up the whole process, Childe<sup>5</sup> remarks that 'the spiral design originated from the horizontal S-spiral and meander'. However, even an earlier origin of this design has been suggested by M. Hoernes<sup>6</sup> who remarks that 'spiralmeander keramik' descends from the late palaeolithic art, which used meander, and is found in Ukraine and Moravia. This consideration, however, need not concern us in the present context. The high antiquity of the running spiral is found in Mesopotamia and Iran also.<sup>7</sup> It is possible that the spiral which was simply a development of the primary skeuomorphic zigzag ribbon found at Anatolian sites, such as Catal Hüyük, in the form of a running spiral in the earliest period,<sup>8</sup> may have reached the Indian sub-continent

3 This early form of spiral is found at Kalibangan (cf. *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1961-62, Fig. 15, No. II, 8); Mehri (cf. *Mem. ASI*, No. 43, Kul. V, xii. 4) and Amri, Period II (cf. J.M. Cassal, *Fouilles d'Amri*, Vol. II, 1964, Figs: 85 and 410) in the Indian sub-continent in the pre-Harappan phase.

4 H. Frankfort, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, 1924, p. 26.

5 V. G. Childe, *The Danube in Prehistory*, Oxford, 1929, p. 38.

6 *Urgeschichte der Bildenden in Kunst Europe*, 1925, p. 774.

7 This motif is found at Giyan (cf. R. Ghirshman and G. Contenau, *Fouilles du Tepe Giyan*, 1935, Pl. 22, Tomb. 69) and Billa (cf. E. A. Speiser, 'The Pottery of Tell Billa', *Museum Journal*, University Museum, Philadelphia, Vol. XXIII, No. 3, 1932, Pl. LXIV).

8 The numerous stamp-seals of baked clay bearing intricately designed S-spiral and meander are found at Levels II to VI of Catal Hüyük. According to C-14 dating, those levels correspond to c. 5720 to 5830 B. C. (cf. J. Mallaart, *Catal Hüyük—a Neolithic Town in Anatolia*, 1967, p. 220, Fig. 56, Pl. 121.)

from this centre. It is therefore probable that this motif, to which the east Mediterranean area,<sup>9</sup> Egypt<sup>10</sup> and Mesopotamia offer such abundant parallels, may have a West Asiatic origin so far as the Indian sub-continent is concerned.

Because of the complexity of its development, the analysis and description of individual instances where this motif occurs are often unsatisfactory. We, however, propose to study its evolution in the following way.

(a) According to Frankfort, the earliest motif from which the spiral may be said to have evolved is a 'rhythmic arrangement' of a ribbon of the kind which we are calling meanders or deep wavy lines. See Plate, Fig. 1. Two variants of this elementary design are single meanders, sometimes with flattened bases (see Plate, Fig. 2) and interwoven meander or *guilloche* (see Plate, Fig. 3).

(b) The second evolutionary stage seems to be represented by rows of single S-spiral, each separate from its neighbours. See Plate, Fig. 4. A further development of this illustrated by hooked spirals. See Plate, Fig. 5.

(c) The third stage is reached when the spirals are joined together to form continuous rows. The principal variants of this basic design are to be found in (i) closeness of the spiral (see Plate, Fig. 6), (ii) number of the coils (see Plate, Fig. 7), and (iii) the size of the terminal chain (see Plate, Fig. 8).

(d) The fourth evolutionary stage seems to be represented by the development of a continuous spiral. This variety is sometimes associated with erected tufts. See Plate, Fig. 9.

(e) A further spiral development, which does not seem to represent a linear evolution from the fourth stage, but is rather an independent development from the second or third, may be named negative spiral. See Plate, Fig. 10.

<sup>9</sup> *Antiquity*, Vol. II, 1928, p. 60.

<sup>10</sup> J. Capart, *Primitive Art in Egypt*, 1905, pp. 114-15.

We may say by way of general observation that the motif and its variants in the first stage are so common as a decorative motif on pottery that there is probably little point in attempting to present their history and distribution and that, even at the second stage, it is not so specialised as to be considered as a distinctive motif. It is only at the third stage that we have fully evolved continuous spiral motif that assumes a new significance.

The early occurrence of the continuous spiral motif is in Mesopotamia,<sup>11</sup> Crete,<sup>12</sup> Palestine<sup>13</sup> and Caucasus,<sup>14</sup> and the dates around which it appears in the above-mentioned places correspond roughly to the late Harappan period. In the Indian sub-continent, it is mainly found in (I) the North-West chiefly in Southern Baluchistan and (II) Central and Western India only. Since this motif may have some chronological meaning, we propose also to trace its diffusion in the Indian sub-continent.

In the north-western part of the Indian sub-continent, this motif is found at post-Harappan sites, viz. Kasano Damb of

11 At Nuzi (cf. R. F. S. Starr, *Nuzi*, 1937, Vol. II, Pl. 78, U, WI and X, p. v), this motif is found in the Hurrian period which roughly corresponds to c. 1600 to 1400 B. C. On the authority of McCown (cf. *Comparative Stratigraphy of Early Iran*, 1942) and Perkins (cf. *The Comparative Archaeology of Early Mesopotamia*, 1949), it can be suggested that the continuous spiral is significantly absent in the pre-Harappan phase corresponding roughly to c. 3000 B. C. in Iran and Iraq.

12 In Crete, Evans mentions (cf. *Palace of Minos at Knossos*, Vol. I, p. 113, Fig. 81a) the occurrence of this motif in E. M. III (c. 2000 B.C.). In Cyclades (cf. *Tsounts*, X, 1898, Kukuladice, *Ephemeris Archaeologike*, Pls. 9, 10, 16, 152 : 666, Figs. 3-5; 41 : Pl. VI ; 64 ; VII-VIII) this motif is dated around 1800 B. C.

13 In Atchana, Woolley (cf. *Alalakh : An Account of the Excavations at Tell Atchana in the Hatay, 1937-1949*) refers to its occurrence at Level IV (*ibid.*, 347ff.) which falls within c. 1483 to 1370 B. C. (*ibid.*, p. 384).

14 In Trialeti (cf. C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Stratigraphie Comparee et Chronologie de l'Asie Occidentale*, Fig. 289), this motif occurs in c. 1800 B. C. (cf. *ibid.*, p. 512).

Jhau<sup>15</sup> and Jhalawan.<sup>16</sup> It is noteworthy that iron objects are found in association with pottery bearing spiral designs at several, if not all, of the above-mentioned sites. There is now no longer any reason to concern ourselves with Gordon's late dating, which was based upon the presumption that iron reached India only after the middle of the 1st millennium B.C. Current thinking, undoubtedly influenced by radio-carbon dating, would allow the Baluchistan graves a considerably earlier date, making them coincide with the first arrival of iron around 1000 B. C.<sup>17</sup> In this light, these Baluchistan sites takes on quite a new significance. For while some of them may be of the middle of the first millennium B. C., there is now every reason to believe that the earliest of the series are some four or five centuries earlier.

In Central and Western India, the spiral motif develops into various forms not earlier than c. 1700 B. C.<sup>18</sup> The traces of its early evolutionary forms, viz. meanders or deep wavy lines, are found side by side with continuous spiral.<sup>19</sup> Sometimes the tufts appear around the motif.<sup>20</sup> Spiral motifs are found at Navdatoli,<sup>21</sup> Eran,<sup>22</sup> and Nevasa,<sup>23</sup> in the central and western

15 *Mem. ASI*, No. 43, p. 85.

16 *Ibid.*, Pls. VIII-IX.

17 B. de Cardi, in *Iraq*, Vol. XIII, 1951, p. 71; N. R. Banerjee, *The Iron Age in India*, 1965, pp. 44-45; and Allchin B., and F. R., *The Birth of Indian Civilisation*, 1968, pp. 207-08. These authors suggest this as the date around which iron seems to have arrived in India.

18 Here the C-14 dates of Navdatoli and Eran are taken into consideration.

19 At Eran, meander or deep wavy lines are found at Period I (cf. *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1960-61, Pl. XXVI; 1962-63, Pl. XXXI).

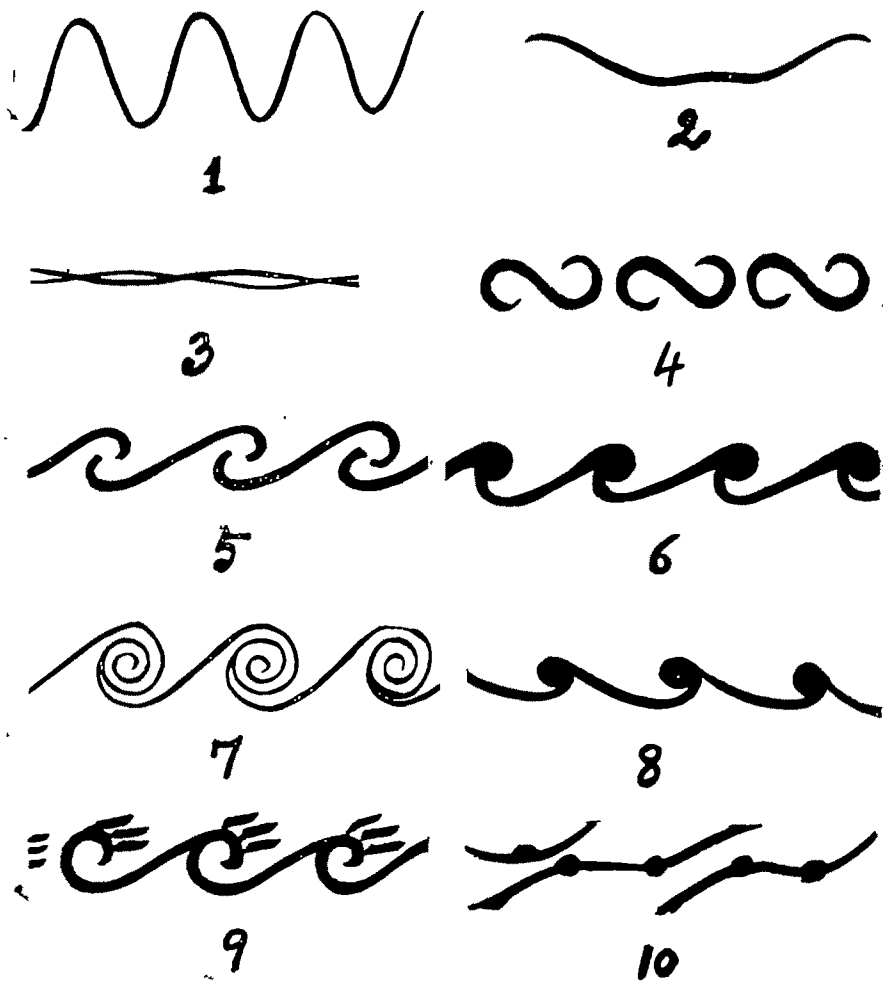
20 *Ibid.*, 1958-59, Pl. XXIIIB.

21 H. D. Sankalia, B. Subbarao and S. B. Deo, *Report on the Excavations at Maheshwar and Navdatoli*, 1958, Figs. 46j and 52.6.

22 *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1961-62, Pl. XL b.

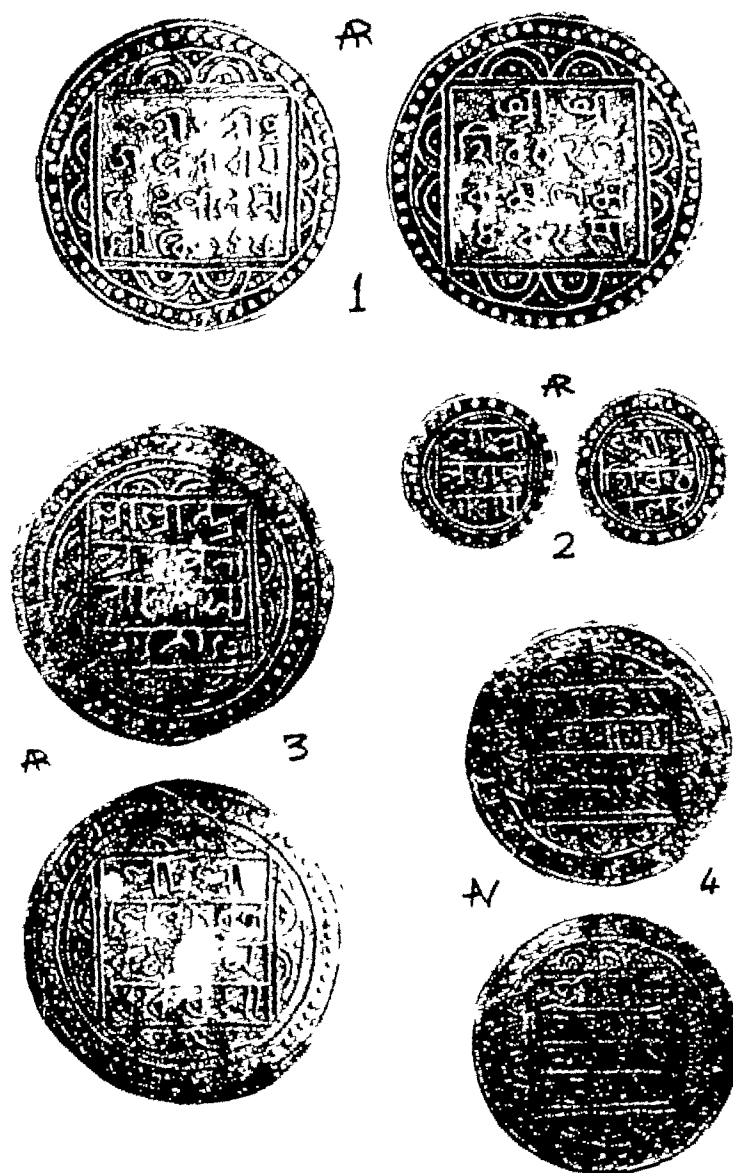
23 *Ibid.*, 1958-59, Pl. XXIII b.

PLATE V



Figs. 1-10. Meander-spiral Motif (pp. 164ff.).

PLATE VI



Figs. 1-4. Coins of Kachār (pp. 204ff.)  
 Courtesy: V. Chowdhury and P. Ray.

parts of the Indian sub-continent. Of these, the running S-spirals are few and are found at Prakash (late period IB),<sup>24</sup> Diamabad (surface),<sup>25</sup> Jorwe,<sup>26</sup> Tekwada,<sup>27</sup> and Nevasa.<sup>28</sup>

It may also be pointed out that the earlier evolutionary stages of this motif such as deep meander design,<sup>29</sup> single meander,<sup>30</sup> and interwoven meander,<sup>31</sup> are found in early Harappan phases, where the continuous spiral designs are significantly absent. Late appearance of the continuous spiral motif as a pottery design only after c. 1700 B. C. in the Indian sub-continent roughly corresponds to a similar development in Crete, Egypt, Palestine and Mesopotamia. In course of our study of the prehistoric sites of the Indian sub-continent, it emerges that here also this motif passed through long stages of evolution and, in a comparatively late chronological horizon, developed into the continuous spiral motif. It is interesting to note that the early occurrence of the spiral design in West Asiatic sites and its spread towards the east as far as Central India through Iraq and Persia indicate that the motif probably originated in a common base and in a slow process diffused in the above-mentioned localities.

As for the cultural significance of this motif, it is worth men-

24 *Ancient India*, Nos. 20-21, Fig. 7L.

25 *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1958-59, Pl. XXIIIB. 19.

26 H. D. Sankalia and S. B. Deo, *Report on the Excavations at Nasik and Jorwe*, Fig. 83, No. 9.

27 *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1956-57, Fig. 8, No. 5.

28 *Ibid.*, 1958-59, Pl. XXIIb.

29 Here the earliest motif from which spiral may be said to have evolved is referred to.

30 *Ibid.*, 1962-63, p. 21, Fig. 2; Cassal, *Fouilles d' Amri*, Fig. 85, No. 410; J. Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilisation*, Vol. III, Pl. LXII, Nos. 4, 7, 10.

31 *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1961-62, Fig. 14, No. 33, and Fig. 15, No. 18; E. J. E. Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro*, Vol. II, Pl. LXVII, No. 5; *Mem. ASI*, No. 43, Pl. XXIII, Kul. V. v3.



tioning that, on the basis of its occurrence on Nuzi painted pottery, Woolley<sup>32</sup> remarks that 'it can be taken as a hall mark of Mittanni influence'.<sup>33</sup> It is, therefore, tempting to speculate on the basis of Woolley's observation that the motif perhaps had some particular association with these people and may have originated with them.

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32 *A Forgotten Kingdom*, London, 1935, p. 133.

33 It may be noted that the dates around which the running S-spiral occurs in Mesopotamia, Crete, Palestine and Caucasus seem to have a general coincidence with the time of the arrival of migratory Aryans in those areas. The earliest indubitable traces of a definitely characterised Indo-Iranian language are to be found, as is well known, in the names of four Vedic gods, Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra and Nāsatya, in records of treaties, in association with Mitani kings.

## BUDDHISM AND THE EARLY RULERS OF SOUTH-EAST BENGAL

SM. PUSPA NIYOGI

Buddhism was well established in parts of East and South-East Bengal ( Vaṅga-Samataṭa ) before the rise of the Buddhist Pāla dynasty. This is evident from the land-grants recovered in this area, recording gifts of land in favour of Buddhist institutions, which differ in respect of donees from those found in other parts of Bengal.\* The latter usually benefit Brāhmanism or Brāhmaṇa scholars. A special feature of the grants of the Candras and the Pālas is that, although the Buddha is invoked in them and the Buddhist *dharma-cakra* symbol used, as evidence of their personal faith in Buddhism, the recorded donations were made in favour of Brāhmaṇas or their religion.

The early kings of East Bengal are known to have built monasteries and made provisions for their maintenance and upkeep. A copper plate of Vainyagupta<sup>1</sup> discovered at Gunaighar (Tippera District), dated in the Gupta year 188 (507 A.D.) records the gift of some land to a congregation of Buddhist monks (*Śākyabhikṣu*) residing in a monastery built by *Mahārāja* Rudradatta at whose request the grant was made. It consisted of 11 *pāṭakas* of *khilla* land in 5 plots, in the village of Kānteda-daka in Uttara-Maṇḍala, as follows : (1) 7 *pāṭakas* and 9 *dronavāpas* ; (2) 8 *dronavāpas* ; (3) 3 *dronavāpas* ; (4) 30 *dronavāpas* ; and (5)  $1\frac{3}{4}$  *pāṭakas*. The gift was made to meet the cost of maintenance of the worship of the Buddha in the Āśrama-vihāra of Avalokiteśvara, its future repair including

\*[ This is not accurate. Cf. Jagadishpur plate (*Bāṅgālā Academy Patrikā*, Māgh-Caitra, B. S. 1370, pp. 36 ff.—Ed.).

<sup>1</sup> *IHQ*, Vol. VI, pp. 45-60. [ The name of the findspot is 'Gunaighar'. —Ed. ]

expenses for the purchase of perfumes, flowers, lamps, incense, etc. ; and also to provide food, clothing, medicines and other necessities for the resident monks. That Buddhism was quite active in the locality is shown by the reference in this inscription to another monastery, called *Rāja-vihāra*. *Ācārya* Jitasena, who was the Head of the *viḥāra* (*Vaiḥārika*), had his residence close to the monastery.

The financial position of the monastery was thus sought to be made secure and stable through the proper utilisation of the resources provided by the gift aiming, in fact, at the creation of a self-sufficient economy for the establishment concerned. It is probable that the monastery was assured of a regular supply of food and similar requirements out of the products of the estate. For other articles, perhaps part of the estate was distributed on suitable terms and conditions to artisans and manufacturers of the articles, for the requirement of the monastic establishments mentioned in the inscription. Local labour and skill were available in and near Gunaigarh as indicated by the presence of carpenters and physicians referred to in the inscription. Wherever such grants were made in the area, with similar conditions attached to them, the resident Buddhist communities had to look after necessary economic arrangements for their maintenance.

Hiuen-tsang, who visited Samataṭa in the seventh century A. D., noticed 30 Buddhist monasteries with 2000 Brethren of the Sthavira school as well as a *stūpa*, the construction of which was traditionally attributed to Aśoka-rāja. Not far from it was a Saṅghārāma with an image of the Buddha in it.<sup>2</sup> Hiuen-tsang further tells us that a line of Brāhmaṇa kings ruled in Samataṭa in the first half of the seventh century A. D. and that Śīlabhadra, the abbot of the Nālandā monastery, belonged to

2 Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, Vol. II, p. 187 ; cf. P.C. Bagchi, *She-ki-a-fang-chi*, p. 105.

this dynasty. He is said to have built a monastery above 20 li south-west of the Guṇamati monastery.<sup>3</sup> The Brāhmaṇa family to which Śīlabhadra belonged may have later adopted Buddhism. R. C. Majumdar, however, holds that 'This Brāhmaṇical royal dynasty, referred to by the Chinese pilgrim, seems to have been overthrown by a line of Buddhist kings whose names contained the word *khadga* as an essential element'.<sup>4</sup>

The Buddhist Khadga rulers have left two copper plates found at Ashrafpur,<sup>5</sup> 30 miles north-east of Dacca, besides an inscription engraved on an image of Sarvānī at Deulbāḍī<sup>6</sup>, 14 miles south of Comilla. The Ashrafpur plates were issued from the victorious headquarters at Karmānta identified by some with the modern village of Badkamta, 12 miles west of the town of Comilla.<sup>7</sup> I-tsing in his memoirs refers to Sengchi who came to India by the southern sea-route and reached Samataṭa where he found Rājabhāṭa as ruling over Samataṭa; he was a Buddhist *upāsaka* who used to make everyday a hundred thousand statues of the Buddha with earth, and read hundred thousand *śloka*s of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*. He also used to take out processions in honour of the Buddha, with an image of Avalokiteśvara at the front, and make pious gifts.<sup>8</sup> In his time, there were 4000 monks and nuns in the capital.<sup>9</sup> "The Buddhist prince Rājarājabhāṭa, the son of

3 Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 109; for reference to a Bhadra dynasty to which Śīlabhadra was connected, see R. C. Majumdar, *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 86.

4 *Loc. cit.* [The Khadgas of Vaṅga conquered Samataṭa from the Rātas in the latter half of the seventh century.—Ed.]

5 *Mem. ASB*, Vol. I, pp. 85ff.

6 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 357-58.

7 B. C. Sen, *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal*, p. 86. [Cf., however, Sircar, *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, 2nd ed., pp. 149-50.—Ed.]

8 Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, intro., pp. xxv, xl-xli; Chavannes, *Religieux Eminent*, p. 128, note 3.

9 Chavannes, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

Devakhadga of Eastern Bengal, may be held to be identical with this Rājabhāṭa, who was ruling Samatāṭa sometime before A. D. 671.<sup>10</sup> The copper plates referred to above disclose the names of a line of kings belonging to the dynasty. They include Khadgodyama, Jātakhadga, Devakhadga and Rājarāja or Rājarājabhāṭa. From the Ashrafpur plates we further learn that king Devakhadga granted a piece of land measuring 9 *pāṭakas* and 10 *droṇas* to *Ācārya* Saṅghamitra, Head of several Buddhist monastic establishments. Another Ashrafpur plate records a gift by prince Rājarāja comprising 6 *pāṭakas* and 10 *droṇas* of land in favour of the monastery of Saṅghamitra. Both the charters begin with verses in praise of the Buddha or the Buddhist religion. Both the plates were written by the same clerk, Pūradāsa, a devout Buddhist. The messenger is also a Buddhist. The mound in which the plates were found marked the site of the monastery to which the grant was made. There is sufficient evidence to show that all the kings of the Khadga dynasty were Buddhist. According to tradition recorded by Tāranātha, Vaṅga was ruled by a line of Candra kings. This has led R. C. Majumdar to conclude that 'it is not improbable that Govicandra supplanted the Khadgas.'<sup>11</sup>

Another Buddhist dynasty connected with the same region was the Rāta kings as known from a copper plate discovered at Kailan<sup>12</sup> near Comilla. The charter was issued in the 8th regnal year of Śrīdhāraṇarāta, called *Samatāṭeśvara* i. e., lord of Samatāṭa. It is recorded that the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* Jayanātha approached the king for a grant of 4½ *pāṭakas* of land which he desired to dedicate to the *Bhagavat Tathāgata*-

10 B. C. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

11 R. C. Majumdar, *History of Ancient Bengal*, p. 81. [The historicity of Govicandra remains to be proved. It seems now that the Deva dynasty ousted the Khadgas from Samatāṭa.—Ed.]

12 *IHQ*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 221ff.

*ratna* (Buddha) or the *Ratna-traya* for the worship of the Buddha, the reading and writing of Buddhist religious texts and the provisions for food, clothing and other necessities for the *Ārya-saṅgha* (Buddhist monks). The land donated was situated in Raṅkupottaka in the Nidhānikhāḍobbā sub-division of the Guptīnāṭana district, within the jurisdiction of the *Kumārāmātya* of Devaparvata, the Rāta capital, encircled by the river Kṣīrodā which is the modern Khira or Khirnai.<sup>13</sup>

The same region, more or less marked by Buddhist influences, is noted in a copper-plate grant issued from Devaparvata<sup>14</sup> on the southern end of the Mainamati hills by king Bhavadeva, son of Ānandadeva. The seal used in the charter resembles the Pāla and the Candra seals. Probably the pattern became popular after its use by the Deva kings. King Bhavadeva is described in this charter as a *Paramasaugata*, i. e. a devout worshipper of the Buddha. It is recorded in the grant that Vibhūtidāsa approached *Mahāsāmanta* Nandadhara with a request to submit his prayer to the king. King Bhavadeva subsequently made a grant of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  *pāṭakas* of land in favour of the *Ratnatraya* of the *Veṇḍamatī-vihārikā* i. e., the local Buddhist monastery of Veṇḍamatī. The  $7\frac{1}{2}$  *pāṭakas* of land with *udraṅga* granted lay in four different plots in the Peranāṭana-ṭana-ṭana-ṭana, as follows : (1)  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *pāṭakas* in Vāhaka-khaṇḍa in Veṇḍamatī ; (2) 1 *pāṭaka* in Ekkarakoṭṭa ; (3) 2 *pāṭakas* in Mañjikkakoraka ; and (4) 2 *pāṭakas* in Koḍḍāvāra.

D. C. Sircar assigns the royal family mentioned in this record either to the 1st half of the 8th century or to the 2nd half of the 9th century A. D.<sup>15</sup>

Two more grants of this dynasty have been discovered at

13 *Loc. cit.*

14 *JAS*, Letters, Vol. XVII, 1951, No. 2, pp. 83-94.

15 *Loc. cit.* ; cf. Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, p. 135.

Mainamati,<sup>16</sup> one was issued by Ānandadeva, son of Viradeva, and another bore the endorsement of Bhavadeva, son of Ānandadeva. Not long after the reign of Bhavadeva, the dynasty came to an end, and the Samatāṭa country passed to the Palas.<sup>17</sup>

Another king of south-east Bengal, named Kāntideva, known from his Chittagong copper plate,<sup>18</sup> was a *Paramasau-gata*. His grandfather Bhadrādatta was also devoted to the Jinendra (i. e. Buddha) ; but Kāntideva's father, Dhanādatta, was a follower of the Brāhmaṇical religion. D.C. Sircar identifies Kāntideva's maternal grandfather with Bhavadeva or one of the latter's immediate successors and suggests that Kāntideva inherited parts of the Deva kingdom as an heir to his maternal grandfather.<sup>19</sup>

The Candras of Rohitāgiri may have obtained possession of Eastern Bengal by overthrowing the ruling dynasty of Harikela known from Kāntideva's inscription of the 9th century A. D.<sup>20</sup> N. K. Bhattasali suggests that the name Rohitāgiri is a Sanskritised form of Lāl-māṭi meaning the Lalmai hills near Comilla.\* Excavations have brought to light convincing evidence of its antiquity and the political and religious importance of the neighbouring regions. The Candras may have been originally followers of the Brāhmaṇical faith. Records like

16 F. A. Khan, *Excavations at Salban Raja Palace Mound on Mainamati-Lalmai Ridge*, pp. 8ff.

17 *JAS*, Letters, Vol. XVII, 1951, p. 89.

18 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 313-18.

19 *JAS*, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

20 Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 372. [The Candras first settled in Candradvīpa in the Buckergunge District while the *Kalpद्रुकोśa* identifies Harikela with Śrīhaṭṭa or Sylhet.—Ed.]

\*[The Paschimbhag plate shows that *Lālmāi* is derived from *Lāḷambī*. Rohitāgiri is apparently Rohitāgarh in the Shahabad District.—Ed.]

the Rampal,<sup>21</sup> Dhulla<sup>22</sup> and Madanpur<sup>23</sup> plates of Śricandra tell us that Pūrṇacandra's son Suvarṇacandra became a Buddhist. Śricandra invoked the Buddha, attached the Buddhist seal to his charters and styled himself a *Paramasaugata*.

What is important is that the Candras made grants in favour of Brāhmanism,<sup>24</sup> although the earlier Buddhist rulers of Samatāṭa, as already shown, bestowed their patronage only on Buddhist monks and monasteries.<sup>25</sup> This may indicate that Brāhmanism was advancing in some parts of their territory and the support it needed from the State was not denied. Interesting facts are noticed in a copper plate of Śricandra found at Paschimbhag<sup>26</sup> under the Rajnagar P. S. of the Sylhet District. The seal bears a close resemblance to that noticed in the copper plate of Bhavadeva of Devaparvata. Śricandra is here styled *Paramasaugata*. The grant is issued from Vikramapura. It donates land in the *viṣaya* of Candrapura and two other *viṣayas* (Garalā and Pogāra) in the Śrihaṭṭa-maṇḍala of the Pauṇḍra-vardhana-bhukti. The record gives details of grants of land totalling 820 *pāṭakas* given to various classes of people connected with the Candrapura *maṭha* (monastery), and also 280

21 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 136ff. ; N. G. Majumdar, *Ins. Beng*, Vol. III, pp. 1ff.

22 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 134ff.

23 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 51ff., 337ff.

24 Cf. P. Niyogi, *Brahmanic Settlements in Different Subdivisions of Ancient Bengal*.

25 A point worth mentioning is that the Kailan copper plate (*IHQ*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 221ff.) of king Śrīdhārāṇarāta and the Paschimbhag grant of Śricandra record donations both to Brāhmanas and Buddhists. It is apparent that Brāhmanas and Buddhists lived peacefully as neighbours in the localities indicated. This must have been encouraged by the tolerant policy of the State. [For the significance of this, see Sircar, *Stud. Rel. L. Anc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 186ff. The Paschimbhag plate records no grant in favour of any Buddhist establishment.—Ed.]

26 K. K. Gupta, *Copper-plates of Sylhet*, Vol. I, pp. 81ff. ; cf. N. K. Commemoration Volume, pp. 166ff.



*pāṭakas* of land to various classes of people connected with four 'foreign' *maṭhas* and four *maṭhas* situated in the Vaṅgāla land ; and lastly a grant of land to 6000 Brāhmaṇas.\*

The Candras ruled over a wider territory including Vikramapura.<sup>27</sup> It seems probable that Brāhmaṇism was much stronger in certain parts of their territory (e.g. Vikramapura) deserving patronage of the state.

Much later is the inscription of Raṇavaṅkamalla Harikāla-deva, dated Śaka 1141,<sup>28</sup> which shows that Buddhism was not yet a dead force in the region that had been under the rule of successive Buddhist kings from the seventh century A. D. This inscription makes mention of a Buddhist monastery in the city of Paṭṭikerā dedicated to the goddess Durgottārā, a form of Tārā described in the *Sādhana-mālā*, in favour of which the king made a grant of 20 *droṇas* of land situated in a village named Bejakhaṇḍa in the city of Paṭṭikerā in the Tippera District. Paṭṭikerā was a well-known seat of Buddhism in early days. Its name occurs in a Cambridge manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* containing the picture of a sixteen-armed goddess with the level *Paṭṭikere Cuṇḍā-varabhavane Cuṇḍā*.<sup>29</sup> She seems to have been a popular goddess in the region.

The evidence cited in this section shows that the Mainamati-Lalmai range had a prominent centre of Buddhism. The land grants were in most cases made in favour of Buddhist monasteries in order to strengthen the economic foundation of the Buddhist organisations. Monasteries became landowners and

\*[ The details do not appear to be quite accurate.—Ed.]

<sup>27</sup> Sen, *op. cit.*, pp. 371ff.

<sup>28</sup> *IHQ*, Vol. JX, pp. 282ff. The Sundarban copper plate dated in the Śaka year 1118 refers to a Buddhist monument (*ratna-traya*) in the neighbourhood of the village Vā(Dh)maṭhā (*ibid.*, Vol. X, 1934, pp. 321-31 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 45 ff.).

<sup>29</sup> A. Foucher, *Etude sur l'iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*, p. 199. N. K. Bhattasali *Commemoration Volume*, pp. 119-43.

V. 1-2] BUDDHISM AND SOUTH-EAST BENG

came to own valuable property in land, pasturage. They thus constituted a new power from the administrative points of view. These monasteries. But like North Bengal, this part of Bengal also has remains of which were excavated at the Lalmai range, which are described below.

The antiquity and politico-religious importance of its neighbourhood are amply attested by the remains discovered at the site. Gunaigarh (a *grahāra*), the find place of the inscription of Vaśīṣṭha, an ancient site which has yielded some Buddhist relics. The localities concerned were 'inhabited by a population, endowed with advantages of transmission and Buddhist and Brāhmanical institutions side by side'.<sup>30</sup> Paṭṭikerā extends up to hills. A big mound excavated here represents each of its sides having the length of a furlong. People know it by the name of Ānandarāja's. Sen suggests that Ānandadeva, possibly the founder of the monastery, may be identified with king Ānanda of Bhavadeva of Devaparvata, to be located in the neighbourhood of Paṭṭikerā.

Silver coins bearing the legend *Paṭṭikerya* have been found in the Mainamati excavations. These coins add palaeographical grounds to the seventh or eighth century or even earlier. They add to the economic importance of the place as a locality issuing its own coinage associated with its name. From the ruins and the excavations it is concluded that the Ānandarāja palace mound was probably the renowned Paṭṭikeraka monastery.

<sup>30</sup> Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

<sup>31</sup> *B. C. Law Volume*, Part II, pp. 213-31.

coins in question were its symbolic issues.<sup>32</sup> Harikāladeva made a grant of land.<sup>33</sup>

South of Ānandadeva's palace lie the ruins of another monastery. Its area is about 400 square feet and it is 15 feet high. Excavations at this site reveal (1) a central structure enclosed by walls, (2) 'a stone cubical pillar base showing the design of a *caitya* window on each side'; and (3) a temple with surrounding cells. The local people know it by the name of Rupban-kanya's palace. Perhaps it was named after a princess of the ruling family.

Situated half a mile south of Ānandarāja's palace stands Bhojarāja's palace, which was another monastery in the locality. Its area is also about 400 square feet. It had a mound at the centre, which is 30 feet in height, (2) a square temple with massive walls, (3) a profusely decorated basement, and (4) a central chamber, 6 feet square.

To the south of Bhojarāja's palace is an extensive area measuring about one-fourth of a square mile, covered with mounds. This place is known to the local people as Rupban-mura, a site marked by the ruins of a Buddhist establishment, which is a cruciform brick structure resembling in plan the central temple of Paharpur, containing seven pots with votive images of the Buddha in bronze (2 inches high) resembling those which Buddhist pilgrims carried.<sup>34</sup>

A building known as Salban-rajā's palace<sup>35</sup> is found about a mile south-east of Rupban-mura. After excavation, the remains of a very big Buddhist monastery were unearthed at this site. It had an 'approach road' to the main entrance. This road was 174 feet long and 3 feet wide. Next, we have a big 'entrance room' measuring 33 feet by 23 feet with adjoining

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 217; cf. *JNSI*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 114-41.

<sup>33</sup> *IHQ*, Vol. IX, p. 282.

<sup>34</sup> *B. C. Law Volume*, Part II, pp. 213ff.

<sup>35</sup> Khan, *loc. cit.*

guard rooms on either side. There was a flight of steps leading to the courtyard of the monastery. Out of the 120 cells unearthed, 40 are well excavated, the largest one measuring  $16\frac{1}{2}$  feet by  $10\frac{1}{2}$  feet. The wall separating the individual cells are  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet thick. The cells had fire-place and most of the cells contained corbelled niches used by the monks for keeping images of the Buddha and oil-lamps. In one of the cells, a bronze image of seated Padmapāṇi on a lotus throne was found. The image is  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches high. Other finds include one gold coin and a dozen silver coins. They may be assigned to the eighth century A. D. A copper-plate inscription was discovered from one of the cells. The plate bore the emblem of the ruling dynasty. The seal bears the *dharma-cakra* surrounded by two antelopes. The plate contains two grants, one issued by Ānandadeva, son of Viradeva, and the other containing an endorsement of the grant by Bhavadeva.

The Mainamati-Lalmai range extending from north to south for about 11 miles is covered with mounds. The results of excavations at the site leaves no room for doubt that it was a centre of Buddhist culture. The ruins may have been those of a flourishing capital of a Deva line of kings generally assigned to the first half of the 8th century A. D. and the Candras are placed after them. It was probably this dynasty (i. e. the dynasty of Viradeva, Ānandadeva and Bhavadeva) that took a significant step towards raising the Mainamati-Lalmai range to the position of a celebrated Buddhist centre and the Candras adopted it as one of their capital cities and enhanced its glory.\*

\*[The story of the decline of Buddhism in Samatāṭa in the age of the Pālas and the Candras is indicated by the Mandhuk and Narayanpur image inscriptions. See *IHQ*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 51ff., and *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. IX, pp. 121ff.; also Sircar, *Stud. Rel. L. Anc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 187ff. For the repudiation of Buddhism by the later Candra kings Laḍahacandra (c. 1000-20 A. D.) and Govindacandra (c. 1020-55 A. D.), see their copper-plate grants discovered at Mainamati, *Pakistan Archaeology*, No. 3, 1966, pp. 22ff.; also Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 253ff.—Ed.]

## POST-GUPTA GOLD COINS OF BENGAL

SAMARESH BANDYOPADHYAY

The gold coins of the Guptas, 'by the variety and originality of their motifs, the outcome of rich creative imagination, by their aesthetic quality and superb craftsmanship, and by the life they unfold, testifying to the high level of culture attained,' 'rank in their sphere as unapproached works of art'.<sup>1</sup> Sculptured 'in bas relief on a minute scale, produced by die-cutting', they are often considered as the best specimens of numismatic art that we have of this kind, and are generally believed to be 'immensely superior to Indian coins of any other period'.<sup>2</sup> It is well known that the foreign traditions of numismatic art represented by the coins of the Indo-Greeks and Indo-Scythians taking roots in the Indian soil and absorbing and assimilating new trends and styles of Indian numismatic art gave birth to a new numismatic tradition represented best in the coins of the Guptas. We are concerned here with the extent of influence of this series and the continuity of its devices on the post-Gupta gold coins of Bengal.

The gold coins of Samācāra, Śaśāṅka, Jaya and also certain other gold coins from Eastern Bengal (called 'imitations of Gupta coins'<sup>3</sup>) have been discussed under the heading 'Imitations of Gupta Coins', by Altekar, and A. N. Lahiri refers to them as 'coins imitated from the Gupta types'.<sup>4</sup> The coins may be described as follows :

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1 JNSI, Vol. X, p. 123.

2 *Loc. cit.* [This is an exaggeration if we take into consideration the coins, e.g., of the Indo-Greeks and their successors and of the Mughuls.—Ed.]

3 See below.

4 Altekar, *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, Banaras, 1957, pp. 317-37. See note 34 below.

*Coins of Samācāra.* Two coins of Samācāra have so far been found.

*No. 1.* Metal—alloyed gold; Weight—148.2 grains; Size—9 inch; Provenance—unknown.

*Obverse:* King, nimbate, standing in *tribhaṅga* pose, holding bow in left hand and offering incense at an altar by right hand,<sup>5</sup> looking to his right; necklace of pearls or golden beads round neck; to the right appears a standard planted on the ground and surmounted by a bull. Legend below the left arm in characters of the close of the sixth century A. D.—*Samā*,<sup>6</sup> between the feet—*cā*, and above the bull of the standard—*ra*.

*Reverse:* Lakṣmī, nimbate, seated facing on a full-blown lotus, having a lotus bud with stalk in her left hand, and a fillet in the outstretched right hand; symbol on left. Legend—*Śrī-Narendravinata*.<sup>7</sup>

*No. 2.* Metal—alloyed gold (slightly purer than No. 1); Weight—149 grains; Size—8 inches; Provenance—somewhere on the bank of the Arunkhali, near Muhammadpur, Jessore District, East Bengal.

*Obverse:* King, nimbate, facing with head to left, seated on a couch in *rājahlā* pose, left knee raised upwards and right leg bent at the knee resting on the seat, with left hand raised

<sup>5</sup> Smith (*IMC*, p. 120) and following him Allan (*BMCGD*, p. 159) and Sircar (*Studies in Indian Coins*, Delhi, 1968, p. 382) opine that the right hand holds an arrow.

<sup>6</sup> R.D. Banerji (*ASI, AR*, 1913-14, p. 260) reads *Yama* here and in No. 2 below. According to Allan (*op. cit.*, p. cxxiv), 'it looks like *Sahā* or *Samā*; the upper character may possibly be a *ya* in which case the name would be *Yamā* for a name like Yamāntakagupta'. Sircar (*op. cit.*, p. 382, Pl. XV. 15) reads it as *Kapa*.

<sup>7</sup> This is Smith's reading. Allan reads *Śrī-Narendrāditya* and Sircar follows him. R. D. Banerji supports Smith here, and is followed by N. K. Bhattasali (*Num. Sup.*, 1923, p. 55) and J. N. Banerjea, *DHI*, 1956, pp. 265, 271 note). Altekar (*op. cit.*, p. 327) reads *Śrī-Narendravinita* here and also in No. 2.

and right hand on knee, having a female attendant (or queen ?) on either side. Legend<sup>8</sup>—between the king's head and attendant on right—*Samā*,<sup>9</sup> under the couch—*cā*, and beneath the feet of the female figure to the right—*ra*.

*Reverse* : Goddess Sarasvatī, nimbate, standing on a lotus bed in *tribhaṅga* pose, looking to her right, left hand resting on a lotus with a bent stalk, right hand drawing up another lotus with long stalk before face (as if for smelling) ; lotus bud with stalk under right hand ; beneath it, bird<sup>10</sup> with upstretched neck ; two fan-like lotus leaves on the two edges. Legend in the right margin—*Śrī-Narendravinata*.<sup>11</sup>

*Coins of Śaśāṅka* : *Class I* (heavy weight, 80-rati *Suvarṇa*).<sup>12</sup> Metal—gold ; Weight—145 grains ; Size—·8 inch.

*Obverse* : Śiva,<sup>13</sup> nimbate, reclining to left on couchant bull to left ; right hand resting on bull's hump and uplifted left hand holding uncertain object ; orb of moon above bull's neck (indicating *Śaśāṅka*, 'moon'). Legend—in right margin—*Śrī-Śa[śāṅka]* (vertically written), below in exergue—*jayaḥ* (victory) from left to right.

*Reverse* : Lakṣmī, nimbate, seated cross-legged on lotus, facing front ; holding a lotus with stalk in her left hand which rests on her knee, while her right hand is outstretched but empty. Above, on either side of the deity, stands an ele-

<sup>8</sup> Smith reads *Yamadha* and Allan (*op. cit.*, p. 150) and Sircar (*op. cit.*, p. 382, Pl. XV. 16) follow him.

<sup>9</sup> This is Bhattasali's reading (*op. cit.*, p. 56) followed by Altekar (*op. cit.*, p. 328).

<sup>10</sup> See below.

<sup>11</sup> This is R. D. Banerji's reading followed by Bhattasali. Smith (*op. cit.*, p. 122) reads *Śrī-Narendrāditya*, and Allan and Sircar follow him.

<sup>12</sup> *BMCGD.*, Pl. XXIII. 14 ; *CGE*, Pl. XIXA. 8.

<sup>13</sup> According to Smith (*op. cit.*, p. 121), the king is reclining on bull couchant to left.

phant sprinkling water over her (*abhiṣeka* of Lakṣmī). Legend in the right margin—*Śrī-Śaśāṅkaḥ*.

*Class II* (light weight).<sup>14</sup> Metal—gold ; Weight—85 grains ; Size—.75 inch.

*Obverse* : Same as the obverse of Class I.

*Reverse* : Lakṣmī, as above, but without elephants by her side ; holding a full-bloomed lotus with long stalk in extended right hand. Legend in the right margin—*Śrī-Śaśāṅkaḥ*.

*Coins of Jaya[nāga] Prakāṇḍayaśas. Variety A.*<sup>15</sup> Metal—gold ; Weight—131.8 grains ; Size—.8 inch.

*Obverse* : King, nimbate, standing to left, holding bow in left hand and arrow in right ; *cakra* standard behind right hand. Legend under the left arm—*Jaya* ; no trace of circular legend.

*Reverse* : Lakṣmī, nimbate, seated on lotus, facing front, holding fillet in outstretched right hand and lotus in left ; above, elephant on left sprinkling water on her head. Legend in the right margin—*Śrī-Prakāṇḍayaśā*.

*Variety B.*<sup>16</sup> Metal—gold-plated copper ; Weight—117.8 grains ; Size—.8 inch.

*Obverse* : same as Variety A.

*Reverse* : same as Variety A. Legend—obliterated.

The description of the coins of Samācāra, Śaśāṅka<sup>17</sup> and Jaya shows that, while No. 1 of Samācāra resembles the Archer type of the latest Gupta emperors, his No. 2 is unique, since no Gupta coin shows the king in the *rājāṇilā* pose. As regards the reverse, Sarasvatī is not found on the coins of the Guptas. Scholars are, however, not unanimous regarding the identity of

<sup>14</sup> *BMCGD*, Pl. XXIV. 2 ; *CGE*, Pl. XIXA. 10.

<sup>15</sup> *BMCGD*, Pl. XXIV. 6 ; *CGE*, Pl. XIXA. 11.

<sup>16</sup> *BMCGD*, Pl. XXIV. 8 ; *CGE*, Pl. XIXA. 13.

<sup>17</sup> Sircar (above, Vol. IV, p. 187, line 21) mentions Śaśāṅka before Samācāra, although in (*IHQ*, Vol. XXIII, p. 228) he appears to have placed Śaśāṅka later than Samācāra. [ It is probably better to place Samācāra later than Śaśāṅka.—Ed. ]



the goddess because the bird accompanying the goddess was not identified properly. Thus, Smith<sup>18</sup> took the bird to be a peacock and Sircar<sup>19</sup> follows him. Allan<sup>20</sup> describes the bird as *haṁsa* and the goddess as Lakṣmī. J. N. Banerjea<sup>21</sup> does not appear to be sure about the identification of the goddess as he puts a query mark after Sarasvatī. But, as Bhattasali<sup>22</sup> rightly points out, the *haṁsa* is usually associated with Sarasvatī, and following him, Altekar describes the deity as Sarasvatī.<sup>23</sup> The appearance of *haṁsa* is also not seen on the coins of the Guptas.

Śaśāṅka's coins depict Śiva in the *sukhāsana* resembling the Aihole Viṣṇu illustrated by Gopinatha Rao.<sup>24</sup> The appearance of Śiva is intelligible as the king was a devout Śaiva, though the *āsana* of the seated god is not known from the Gupta coins. Gajalakṣmī has also not been noticed hitherto on the coins of the Guptas. Her seated posture is interesting because it is rare in the representations of the goddess on coins. As noted by J. N. Banerjea,<sup>25</sup> only on some square copper coins of Ujjayinī<sup>26</sup> and of Śivadatta of Ayodhyā,<sup>27</sup> the deity is seen seated. Further, depiction of Gajalakṣmī on the coins of Śaśāṅka and Jaya disproves the view that Gajalakṣmī ceases to occur on coins after the first century A. D.<sup>28</sup>

18 *Op. cit.*, p. 122, Pl. XVI. 13.

19 *Op. cit.*, p. 382, Index to Pl. XV. 15.

20 *Op. cit.*, p. 150.

21 *Op. cit.*, p. 265.

22 *Op. cit.*, p. 56.

23 *Op. cit.*, p. 328.

24 *EHI*, Vol. I, Pl. XXX.

25 *Op. cit.*, p. 110.

26 *BMCAI*, Pl. XVIII. 24.

27 *Ibid.*, Pl. XLIII. 4-5.

28 See our note in *Religious Life in Ancient India*, ed. Sircar, pp. 91ff.; for Gajalakṣmī, cf. J. N. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, pp. 106, 110, 133, 150, 188, 194, 196-97, 265, 375-76; also K. K. Thaplyal in *Foreigners in Ancient India and Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī in Art and Literature*, ed. Sircar, pp. 112-25.

The obverse of Jaya's coin follows No. 1 of Samācāra and its reverse Śaśāṅka's coin, the variation being the absence of the elephant sprinkling water in the right field probably because the legend *Śrī-Prakāṇḍayaśā* occupies the side, as noted above.

The so-called imitations of Gupta coins from East Bengal have been discussed by Allan,<sup>29</sup> Bhattasali,<sup>30</sup> P. C. Chakrabarti,<sup>31</sup> R. C. Majumdar,<sup>32</sup> Altekar,<sup>33</sup> A. N. Lahiri<sup>34</sup> and Sircar.<sup>35</sup> Three gold coins of this type, preserved in the British Museum, London, were noticed and described by Allan<sup>36</sup> who also referred to the following coins of the same class :<sup>37</sup> (1) one illustrated by Wilson in the *Ariana Antiqua*, Pl. XVIII. 20 ; (2) one found at Muhammadpur in the Jessore District, along with the coins of Samācāra and Śaśāṅka and published in *JASB*, 1852, p. 401, Pl. XII. 10 ; (3) two (one from a place near Dacca and the other from Kotalipada in the Faridpur District) published by Stapleton in *JASB*, 1910, pp. 142-43, Pl. XXII, 1-2 ; (2) three found in Kotalipada (one of them along with a coin of Skandagupta) noticed by Stapleton who remarked that the imitation coins were current in Bengal later than the time of Skandagupta.<sup>38</sup> Bhattasali described altogether 16<sup>39</sup> coins in the *Numismatic*

29 *BMCGD*, pp. cvi, 154.

30 *Op. cit.*, pp. 57-64.

31 *Hist. Ben.*, Vol. I, p. 666.

32 *The Classical Age*, p. 77.

33 *Op. cit.*, pp. 333-37, Pl. XIXB. 1-4.

34 Cf. *Early Indian Indigenous Coins*, ed. Sircar, 1970, p. 69.

35 See his 'Post-Śaśāṅka Gold Coins from Eastern Bengal' in *JAIH*, Vol. IV, pp. 186-90.

36 *BMCGD*, p. 154, Nos. 620-22.

37 *Ibid.*, pp. cvi-cvii.

38 *Op. cit.*, p. 143, note 1.

39 Altekar (*CGE*, p. 333) and following him Sircar (*JAIH*, Vol. IV, p. 186, lines 30-31) wrongly state that seventeen coins of this type were noticed by Bhattasali. [Besides the 16, Bhattasali noticed two more coins. See *op.*

*Supplement* of the *JASB*, 1923, including some described and referred to by Allan. Two such coins were noticed in the Patna University Collection by Altekar.<sup>40</sup> Recently four more coins of the same type were published by Sircar.<sup>41</sup>

The obverse of these coins shows the king standing to left holding a bow and an arrow. The standard in front of the king is surmounted by a couch or spiral pennon,<sup>42</sup> on one coin there is also a small horse on the obverse.<sup>43</sup> In most cases, the obverse bears no legend ; in some cases the letter *Śrī* is found, followed by what look like traces of a legend. The goddess on the reverse is standing to right (not seated as Lahiri says), wearing a flowing robe ; on the right there are sometimes traces of inscription. In some cases, the goddess is shown to be six- or eight-handed,<sup>44</sup> in others, she has only two hands.

According to Altekar,<sup>45</sup> and also to Sircar,<sup>46</sup> Bhattasali attributed these coins to the Later Guptas of Magadha. But two coins of this type were discussed under the heading 'Coinage of Later Guptas' first by R. D. Banerji,<sup>47</sup> and Bhattasali, who formerly attributed the coins to the Later Guptas,<sup>48</sup> later revised his opinion and said : 'The ascription of the

*cit.*, p. 61, lines 33-37.—Ed.] There are some typographical errors in Sircar's notices. At p. 189, note 23, 'Vol. XXXIII', should be 'Vol. XXIII', at p. 187, note 15, 'p. 153' should read 'p. 143', and at p. 189, line 3, 'the same dynasty' should be 'one and the same dynasty'.

<sup>40</sup> *CGE*, p. 333.

<sup>41</sup> *JAIH*, Vol. IV, p. 186.

<sup>42</sup> Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 333 and note. According to Altekar, on the solitary coin, where this horse standard is said to appear, the object is indistinct (*BMCGD*, Pl. XXIV.17).

<sup>43</sup> Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 334 ; *BMCGD*, Pl. XXIV. 17.

<sup>44</sup> Sircar's description (*JAIH*, Vol. IV, p. 188, line 5) that the deity is sometimes 'ten-armed' does not appear to be correct.

<sup>45</sup> Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 334.

<sup>46</sup> *JAIH*, Vol. IV, p. 188.

<sup>47</sup> *ASI, AR*, 1913-14, p. 258.

<sup>48</sup> *Num. Sup.*, 1923, pp. 62-64.

Imitation-Gupta coins which circulated mostly in Bengal, particularly East Bengal, to a dynasty that had no opportunity to rise to independence before the middle of the seventh century A. D., a dynasty to which no coin can be unhesitatingly ascribed, a dynasty whose inscriptions even in the best days of its glory are all associated with Magadha, does not commend itself to reason.' Bhattasali also stated, 'as I weigh the evidence again and again, the claims of the kings of Gauḍa to be regarded as authors of these coins now appears to me to be stronger than those of the kings of Magadha'. According to him, 'it should not be forgotten, however, that in the anarchy that ensued in Bengal towards the close of the seventh century A. D. and raged throughout the eighth century, every local potentate might have taken upon himself the issue of coins of this type until the type was debased beyond recognition and finally disappeared'.<sup>49</sup> Altekar, therefore, seems to follow Bhattasali when he attributes the coins to some local rulers of Eastern Bengal, who ruled after the death of Śaśāṅka.<sup>50</sup> The uniformity of their type and fabric leads Lahiri to ascribe these coins to the members of a single family. According to Sircar, however, they appear to have been issued by the private moneyers 'during the rule of the Khadgas and Devas of East Bengal, if not also of the Rāṭas'.<sup>51</sup>

Whoever might have been responsible for the issue of the pieces, their obverse type is a copy of the usual Gupta Archer type. But, a six- or eight-armed goddess, as she is seen on some of these specimens, is not noticed on the Gupta coins. Moreover, the heaviest of these coins, the gold of which is often debased, weigh 92.5 grains, and the lightest 75 grains, the

49 *Ibid.*, 1925, pp. 4-6.

50 *Op. cit.*, p. 335.

51 *JAIH*, Vol. IV, pp. 189-90.

average weight being 85 grains.<sup>52</sup> They, therefore, do not exhibit much influence of the Gupta weight standard. Lahiri describes these coins as the 'first national currency of Bengal'. But, that their average weight follows the light weight coins of Śaśāṅka, described above, and as, as he himself notices, they 'even bear, like them, the border of thick dots', his description seems to require modification.

Reference should now be made to a gold coin, noticed by A. Ghosh,<sup>53</sup> which has been described as follows: Metal—gold; Weight—180.5 grains; Size—1 inch; Provenance—unknown; now in the collection of Sri H. P. Poddar, Calcutta.

*Obverse*: King, standing in *tribhāṅga* pose, to front, with face turned to left, wearing *dhoti* and armlets on upper arms and bangles on wrists, holding a feathered arrow (with one end resting on the ground) in extended right hand and bow in extended left hand. Legend in East Indian characters (c. 9th century A. D.)—(1) *śrī*- (2) *mā*[*m*] (above right hand), (3) *Harṣa*- (4) *vā* (beneath right hand) (5) *n=Deva* (5) *pāla*, 'the illustrious Harṣavat Devapāla'.

*Reverse*: Lakṣmī, seated cross-legged on conventional double lotus, holding lotus in both left and right hands, is adorned with armlets on upper arm and bangles on wrists; vase on either side of the deity. Legend—*Śrī* (i. e. the goddess Lakṣmī) in upper left field.

Ghosh attributed the coin to the Pāla emperor Devapāla (c. 810-50 A. D.) of Bengal and Bihar, and L. Gopal<sup>54</sup> accepts this. But, as Sircar points out,<sup>55</sup> it is difficult to be certain whether the coin can be ascribed to that king.

<sup>52</sup> Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 335.

<sup>53</sup> *JNSI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 123-25, Pl.. [The legend seems to be quoted from Sircar, *Stud. Ind. Coins*, p. 383.—Ed.]

<sup>54</sup> *Early Medieval Coin-types of Northern India*, 1966, p. 68, Pl. vii. 14.

<sup>55</sup> *SIC*, p. 383; Index to plate XVI. 3.

Leaving aside the Devapāla coin, the foregoing analysis would show that though the impact of Gupta numismatics on the coins under discussion cannot be denied, the post-Gupta kings of Bengal appear to have attempted to maintain their originality by introducing unusual devices or issuing new coin-types. In other words, the mint artists in question seem to have succeeded considerably in applying their own ideas. Therefore, if these coins are branded as mere imitations, their importance seems to be undervalued.

## THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ AND AŚOKAN

### INSCRIPTIONS

ATUL CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTI

The *Bhagavadgītā* and Aśokan inscriptions are the finest specimens of ancient Indian heritage and the most precious legacy to mankind. Though Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva and the emperor Aśoka differ widely in point of time, yet there are striking similarities of thought and language between the *Bhagavadgītā* and the inscriptions of Aśoka.

The Macedonian emperor, Alexander the Great, made an incursion into the north-western region of India in the fourth century B. C. when Candragupta Maurya was in the prime of his youth. There were some learned scholars with Alexander, and they left accounts of the Greek invasion. Much of those writings have been preserved by the later Greek and Roman historians in their works. One such Greek historian, named Curtius Rufus Quintus (first century A. D.), writes in *The History of Alexander the Great*, "An image of Hercules was borne in front of the line of infantry of the Indian king Porus, and this acted as the strongest of all incentives to make the soldiers fight well. To desert the bearers of this image was reckoned a disgraceful offence."<sup>1</sup>

Modern historians believe that Hercules is none but Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa. This account reminds us of the Bhārata war in which Kṛṣṇa led Arjuna to victory against the sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra. At the outset of the Bhārata war, Droṇa presaged Yudhiṣṭhira's victory and said, "Where there is Dharma (righteousness), there is Kṛṣṇa ; where there is Kṛṣṇa, there is

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<sup>1</sup> R. C. Majumdar, *The Classical Accounts of India*, pp. 119-20.  
[ Quintus Curtius Rufus was a Roman historian.—Ed. ]

victory.<sup>2</sup> The *Bhagavadgītā* speaks in the same strain.<sup>3</sup> It appears from this that the Indian king Puru and his warriors were the worshippers of Kṛṣṇa, and that the traditions of the Bhārata war and the *Bhagavadgītā* were followed by the warriors of India in the 4th century B. C. The evidence of Kṛṣṇa being deified and adored in the pre-Mauryan period is corroborated by Pāṇini and the Buddhist *Niddesa* works. Pāṇini mentions not only the *Bhārata* and the *Mahābhārata*,<sup>4</sup> and its principal heroes, but also the names of its redactors Vaiśampāyana with his disciples,<sup>5</sup> and Paila.<sup>6</sup> Vaiśampāyana and Paila are referred to as redactors of the *Bhārata* and the *Mahābhārata* in the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra*,<sup>7</sup> and this is corroborated by the *Mahābhārata* itself.<sup>8</sup>

This suggests that the Paila and Vaiśampāyana versions of the *Mahābhārata* were known to Pāṇini. The *Mahābhārata* was first recited at Taxila,<sup>9</sup> in the vicinity of which Pāṇini's own village of Śālatura was situated. Thus his information seems to be correct. It is probable that the *Bhagavadgītā* existed prior to the Maurya period as a part of the *Mahābhārata* which refers to it for five times.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, Pāṇini<sup>11</sup> mentions the worshippers of Vāsudeva as Vāsudevaka and of Arjuna as Arjunaka. So the Vāsudeva cult or Bhāgavatism was established long before the time of Pāṇini; otherwise the great grammarian could have ignored it. In the *Mahābhārata*, Kṛṣṇa

2 *Mahābhārata*, VI. 43.63.

3 XVII. 78.

4 VI. 2.38.

5 IV. 3.104.

6 1.4.114. [Sic—IV. 1.118; also II. 4.59.—Ed.]

7 III. 4.4.

8 I. 63.89-90.

9 XVIII. 5.34.

10 XII. 346.II; 348.8 and 53; XVI. 69; VI. 1.5.

11 IV. 3.98.



has been deified throughout ; Arjuna is also called *bhakt-ānukampin*, i. e., kind to his devotees.<sup>12</sup> In the *Bhagavadgītā*, also, Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna are deified.<sup>13</sup> Now a well-established cult must have a text of precepts to be followed by its adherents. But there exists no other ancient authority than the *Bhagavadgītā* as the testament of the Bhāgavatas. In the *Gītā*, there is nothing that can be called Buddhistic. Its language contains many words unsupported by the rules of Pāṇini. In metre and matter, it seems to belong to the oldest part of the *Mahābhārata*. So the *Gītā* may be earlier than Pāṇini.\*

Though there is no mention of the *Mahābhārata* and the Bhāgavata cult in the Aśokan inscriptions, the striking similarities in language and thought between the *Bhagavadgītā* and the inscriptions may be noted.

I. Kṛṣṇa's religious outlook is liberal and universal. Religious tolerance is essential in a vast country of composite population and culture like India. Kṛṣṇa as the President of the Republic of the Vṛṣṇis (Vṛṣṇi-Saṅgha-mukhya) fought for internal unity and scrupulously tried to avoid dissension by installing Ugrasena as king of the Yādavas on the death of Kāṁsa. In the *Gītā*, he admits the unity of all religions and says, "As men approach Me (God), so do I (God) accept them. Men of all sides follow my (God's) path,"<sup>14</sup> and "Even those, who are devotees of other gods, worship them with faith ; they also sacrifice to Me alone, though not according to the true law."<sup>15</sup>

On the other hand, Aśokan edicts advocate religious tolerance. It may be mentioned that Girnar, one of the find-

12 III. 45.12 ; 47. 1-14.

13 X. 37.

\*[ This is not a strong argument.—Ed.]

14 IV. 11.

15 IX. 23. [ The translation is not quite happy.—Ed. ]

spots of Aśoka's edicts, was near Dvārāvātī of the Yādavas. Aśoka declared that there is substance (*sāra*) in all religions\* and desired the development of that substance (*sāra-vadhi*). He strictly prohibited the praise of one's own faith (*ātma-pāṣaṇḍa-pūjā*) and blame of other sects or faiths (*para-pāṣaṇḍa-garhā*).\*\* He advised people to praise other sects or faiths, and said, "By doing so, the people do good even to their own sects or faiths and also to other sects or faiths. Otherwise they do harm to their own sect or faith and also to other sects or faiths. He who respects his sect or faith, and hates other sects or faiths, out of love for his own sect or faith, does so thinking, 'It is our duty to encourage our sect or faith ;' but by so doing, he does harm to his own sect or faith. So, common congregation or co-operation (*samavāya*) [for reciprocal understanding of each other's faith or sect] is good."\*\*\*

The *Bhagavadgītā* denounces self-conceit and hatred for and blame of others as a demoniac mood (*āsuri sampad*).<sup>16</sup> That self-praise is equal to suicide has been mentioned as said by Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna in the *Mahābhārata*.<sup>17</sup>

II. The *Bhagavadgītā* says, "A man doing good to others perishes never in this world and in the next,"<sup>18</sup> and "A man without sacrifice neither has this world nor the next."<sup>19</sup> A sacrifice is a selfless work dedicated to the service of man and God. It means that a work, done without a motive in a spirit

\*[Exactly this is not found in the edicts of Aśoka, but may be regarded as implied by them.—Ed.]

\*\*[In RE XII, *ātma-pāṣaṇḍa-pūjā* and *para-pāṣaṇḍa-garhā* are strongly deprecated, but are not 'strictly prohibited'.—Ed.]

\*\*\*[The translation of Aśokan epigraphs here and elsewhere is not quite accurate.—Ed.]

16 XVI. 17-19.

17 VIII. 70.29.

18 VI. 40.

19 IV. 31.

of dedication to man and God, gives success in this world and also in the next.

Aśoka, too, proclaims in RE XI, 'Good behaviour to the serfs and servants, service to the parents, charity to friends, relatives, known persons and to the Brāhmaṇas and Śramanas and non-slaughter of animals—are all excellent and meritorious. Such rightful gifts are conducive to good in this and in the next world.'

Thus it is found that Kṛṣṇa and Aśoka are in agreement that the performance of meritorious deeds does good in this and in the next world.

III. Aśoka's religion is not sectarian, but universal, and consists of the substance of all religions. In PE II, he defines Dharma or righteousness as abstinence from cruelty or blame of others, performance of manifold good deeds, kindness, charity, truthfulness and purity. In PE III, he also defines sin as violence, cruelty, anger, self-conceit and jealousy. What have been defined by Aśoka as Dharma (virtue) and vice are called divine qualities (*daivī sampad*) and demoniac conduct (*āsuri sampad*) respectively in the *Gītā*, XVI.

IV. Aśoka was a benevolent monarch. In RE VI, he proclaims, "I consider it my duty to do good to all. There is no better work than beneficence to all."

In the *Gītā* also, it is stated that those who do good to others, attain the Lord,<sup>20</sup> that true but beneficial speech is called the vocal penance,<sup>21</sup> and that a man doing good to others never perishes.<sup>22</sup>

V. Aśoka has given a very high place to *Ahimsā* or non-injury in his religion. In RE III, IV and XI and also in PE VII such words as *avihiṃsā*, *akṣati* and *anālam̐bha* have been

20 XII. 4 ; V. 25.

21 XVII. 15.

22 VI. 40.

used to denote *ahimsā* or non-injury. In the *Gītā*, too, *ahimsā* or non-injury has been used four times as one of the divine qualities (*daivī sampad*), as a means for the acquisition of knowledge and also as physical penance.<sup>23</sup> In the *Mahābhārata*<sup>24</sup> also, it is declared that what is associated with *ahimsā* or non-injury is Dharma or righteousness and that Dharma is for the sake of non-injury.

VI. *Mārdava* or mildness<sup>25</sup> and *bhāva-suddhi* or purity of thoughts and feelings are parts of Aśoka's religion. These qualities belong to the divine virtues (*daivī sampad*) of the *Gītā*. The latter quality (*bhāva-suddhi*) is also described in the *Gītā*<sup>26</sup> as mental penance.

VII. In RE III, frugality (*alpa-vyayatā*) and small savings (*alpa-bhāṇḍatā*) have been inculcated. In the *Gītā*, temperance in earning, enjoying and all other efforts has been enjoined.<sup>27</sup>

VIII. In RE XIII, Aśoka enjoins rightful desire, good behaviour and firm devotion (*diḍha-bhatitā*) to the friends, men,\* helpers, kinsmen, slaves and servants. Kṛṣṇa, too, advocates rightful desire,<sup>28</sup> and uses the term 'firm' (*dr̥ḍha*) as an adjunct to *bhakti*, i. e. devotion or attachment.<sup>29</sup>

In RE I, there is prohibition of congregation (*samāja*). In the *Gītā* also, abstention from attending congregation (*aratir = jana-saṁsadi*)<sup>30</sup> has been advised.

23 X. 5 ; XIII. 7 ; XVI. 2 ; XVII. 14.

24 VIII. 69.57—

yat syād=*ahimsā-saṁyuktāṁ sa dharma itī niścitaḥ* /  
*ahimsā-ārthāya bhūtānāṁ dharma-pravacanāṁ kṛtam* //

25 RE XIII ; PE VII.

26 XVII. 16.

27 VI. 17.

\*[ Read 'acquaintances' for 'men'.—Ed.]

28 VII. 11.

29 XIII. 10.

30 XIII. 10.

X. It is advised in RE X that one should take recourse to valour\* at the sacrifice of all for the purpose of attaining merit. This ideal reminds us of Kṛṣṇa advising Arjuna to take refuge in Him at the sacrifice of all other duties (Dharma).<sup>31</sup>

XI. In many inscriptions, Aśoka advises respect for the parents and preceptors, and also purity and self-control. In the *Gītā*, too, respect for the gods, Brāhmaṇas, parents, preceptors (*guru*) and the learned,<sup>32</sup> service to the teachers, purity and self control have been instructed.<sup>33</sup>

It may be concluded from the manifold similarities stated above that the proclamation of Aśoka might be consciously influenced by the thoughts of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa contained in the *Gītā*, for the deified Kṛṣṇa has been mentioned by the earlier authorities like Pāṇini, the Buddhist *Niddesa*, Megasthenes and the *Mahābhārata* in which Kṛṣṇa has been described as God throughout and which contains the *Gītā* as the Upaniṣad of the fifth Veda.\*\* That the *Gītā* is an integral part of the *Mahābhārata* is corroborated by the internal evidences already noted and the teachings of the *Gītā* are in agreement with the thoughts of the *Mahābhārata*. Aśoka, too, referred to the earlier works of learning (*porāṇā pakiti*).\*\*\*

\*[ In Aśokan vocabulary, *parākrama* is 'zealous effort' and not exactly 'valour'.—Ed.]

31 XVIII. 61.

32 XVII. 14.

33 XIII. 7.

\*\*[ The *Niddesa* works and the major part of the *Mahābhārata* are post-Aśokan.—Ed.]

\*\*\*[ The word *prakṛti* is here generally taken to mean 'rule, custom'.—Ed.]

## SANCHI INSCRIPTION OF CANDRAGUPTA II\*

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

The Sanchi inscription of the time of the Gupta emperor Candragupta II Vikramāditya records the grant of a locality named Īśvaravāsaka and an amount of twenty-five *ḍināras* to the Ārya-saṅgha at the Mahā-vihāra of Kākanādaboṭa (Sanchi) by Amrakārdava or Āmrakārdava, the son of Undāna, and an officer under Candragupta II, also known as Devarāja, for the purpose of feeding five monks and maintaining a lamp in the Ratnagrha, in the Gupta year 93, corresponding to 412 A. D.<sup>1</sup> The gift land, viz., Īśvaravāsaka, is called *Maja-Śara-bhaṅg-Āmrarāta-rājakula-mūlya-kṛta*.<sup>2</sup> Fleet regards *mūlya* of this expression, literally meaning 'an original sum', as equivalent to *akṣaya-nivī*, literally 'a capital sum that is not to be wasted',\*\* constantly used in early inscriptions, and takes *rāja-kula* in the sense of 'the royal household' and renders the expression by 'purchased with the endowment of Maja and Śarabhaṅga and Āmrarāta of the royal household'.<sup>3</sup> R. G. Basak takes *mūlya* in the sense of 'price' and appears to treat *rājakula* as an office as would follow from his statement that the grant-land was purchased 'by a payment of the usual price as fixed in the *rājakula*'.<sup>4</sup> D. C. Sircar equates *Rājakula* with modern Rāval and thinks that 'the locality called Īśvaravāsaka was purchased by Āmrakārdava from the *Rājakulas* Maja,

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\* [ Both Shastri's and Bandyopadhyay's notes contain repetition of some matter appearing in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV.—Ed. ]

1 *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 31-32.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 31, text-lines 4-5.

\*\* [ 'Wasted' is possibly not the appropriate word.—Ed. ]

3 *Ibid.*, p. 33 and note 1.

4 *History of North-Eastern India* (Calcutta, 1967), p. 50.

Śarabhaṅga and Āmrarāta'.<sup>5</sup> While there is no doubt about the use of the word *mūlya* in the sense of 'price', the same cannot be said definitely about the word *rājakula* being used as an official designation. The undoubted use of *Rājakula* as an official designation ultimately leading to modern *Rāval* or *Rāul* is met with in comparatively late records<sup>6</sup> and, in the present state of insufficient information, one cannot be sure if it had become an official designation as early as the Gupta period, though there is nothing impossible in it.

However, in an interesting note in the *JAIH*, Vol. IV, Parts 1-2, pp. 214-17, Samaresh Bandyopadhyay has suggested that like *Rājakula*, *Śarabhaṅga* may also have been employed as an official designation and the locality actually purchased by Āmrakārdava from *Śarabhaṅga* Maja and *Rājakula* Āmrarāta. As rightly pointed out by Bandyopadhyay, we have instances of official designations being used after the personal names and thus there is no inherent difficulty involved in this view. There are, however, some weighty considerations which make the acceptance of this suggestion difficult.

Copper-plate inscriptions of some medieval ruling chiefs of Northern India often refer to an official designation variously spelt as *Śarabhaṅga*, *Sarabhaṅga* and *Sarobhaṅga* in the list of subordinates addressed in connection with land-grants registered therein.<sup>7</sup> The word is spelt differently not only in the records

<sup>5</sup> *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I (2nd ed., Calcutta, 1965), p. 281, note 7.

<sup>6</sup> In our opinion, one of the earliest instances of the use of *Rājakula* as a title somewhat similar to modern *Rāval* occurs in the Alina copper-plate inscription of the Maṭṭraka king Śīlāditya VIII, dated Gupta-Valabhī year 447. Vide *CII*, III, p. 180, text line 76. For some other instances, see Bhandarkar's List, No. 324 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 156.

<sup>7</sup> This designation is found used only in the records of the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar, the Mūṣaṅga chiefs of Chamba, the Śāhis of the Gilgit region and some local chiefs of the Garhwal territory. It is not employed in South Indian epigraphs.

of the same dynasty, but even in the different charters of one and the same king. Thus, we have *Sarabhaṅga* in the Nālandā plate of the Pāla king Dharmapāla (c. 770-810 A. D.)<sup>8</sup> and the Monghyr plate of his son and successor, Devapāla (c. 810-54 A. D.),<sup>9</sup> while the Nālandā plate of Devapāla gives the form *Śarabhaṅga*.<sup>10</sup> The latter form is also found in the Pāṇḍukeśvar plates of Lalitaśūradeva (854 A. D.), Padmaṭadeva and Subhikṣarājadeva (10th century A. D.).<sup>11</sup> The Sungal plate of the Mūṣaṇa king Vidagdha (10th century A.D.) of the Chamba region, however, offers the form *Sarobhaṅga*.<sup>12</sup> The word in any of these forms is conspicuous by its absence in Sanskrit lexicons and consequently some fanciful interpretations have been suggested. J. Ph. Vogel was unaware of its employment in inscriptions or literature and found the term inexplicable.<sup>13</sup> R.G. Basak thinks that the designation may have been applied to superior military officers in the army equipped with bows and arrows.<sup>14</sup> According to B. C. Sen, *Śarabhaṅga* may have been an officer whose usual function was to accompany the king on his hunting expeditions, if the use of arrows was the characteristic mark of his service, and to look after all business relating to such activities of his master.<sup>15</sup> P. V. Kane doubtfully suggests the possibility of the designation being connected with the words *sarayantra* and *Śarayantrin*, the latter being a title bestowed in Mithila upon a very learned scholar who

8 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 291, text line 10.

9 *Ibid.*, XVIII, p. 306, text line 32.

10 *Ibid.*, XVII, p. 321, text line 29.

11 *Ibid.*, XXXI, p. 280, text line 12 ; p. 287, text line 11 ; p. 294, text line 14.

12 Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Part I, p. 166, text line 7.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 123.

14 Cited by B. C. Sen in *IC*, Vol. VII (1940-41), p. 309.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 309 ; *Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal*, (Calcutta, 1942), p. 549.



faced the ordeal of answering satisfactorily all questions on any *śāstra* put to him by learned *ācāryas* as also the questions put by common people.<sup>16</sup> While editing the Pāṇḍukeśvar plates, D. C. Sircar at first opined, “*Śarabhaṅga* literally means ‘wound and fracture’. He was probably the royal surgeon;”<sup>17</sup> but from the confusion about the spelling and the non-mention of the term in the sense of an official designation in Sanskrit dictionaries, he later rightly inferred that the word is of foreign origin introduced into India by the foreign rulers of North-Western Bhāratavarṣa and tried to show that it is actually a Sanskritised form of the Middle and New Persian word *Sarhang* meaning ‘commander of forces’.<sup>18</sup> *Sarhang*, as pointed out by N. P. Chakravarti, is composed of the Iranian *sar* (Sanskrit *śiras*) ‘head’, and the Old Persian *hanga* (Sanskrit *saṅgha*), ‘company’, in the sense of ‘the head of the army or gathering’ or ‘the head of a contingent of troops’.<sup>19</sup> It is interesting to note in this connection that this designation in the form *Sarāṅgha* is met with in the expression *Giligittā-Sarāṅgha* (chief of the army of Giligittā, i.e. Gilgit) applied to a high dignitary named Makarasimha in the Hatun rock inscription of the Śāhi king Paṭoladeva who lived in the 7th century A. D.<sup>20</sup> The word *Sarhang*, it may be conjectured, was Indianised as *Śarabhaṅga* probably because the latter was

16 *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. III, p. 1005.

17 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 282, note 6.

18 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 96–97. Vide also D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy* (Delhi, 1965), p. 353, note 3; *Indian Epigraphical Glossary* (Delhi, 1966), pp. 300–301.

19 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 228. Its modern form *Sāreng* or *Serāng* is still current in India. See *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. *Serang*. Cf. other words beginning with *sar*, viz., *sartip*, *sarkar*, *sarjug*, *sarjugi*, etc. Vide *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX (1891), p. 45.

20 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 230, text line 4.

well-known in India as a personal name since very early times.<sup>21</sup>

It would follow from the above discussion that *Śarabhaṅga* and its variants are found in Indian inscriptions in the sense of an official designation from the seventh century A.D. onwards. As late as the seventh century it was not yet Sanskritised and had made very little progress from *Sarhang* to *Sarāṅgha* which actually reflects the spontaneous process of change. *Śarabhaṅga* itself first occurs in the inscriptions of the Pāla kings Dharmapāla and Devapāla of Bengal and Bihar and the Pāṇḍukeśvara plate of Lalitaśūradeva belonging to the 9th century A.D. Even in mediaeval times, it had not become fully naturalised on the Indian soil and composers of epigraphic records were at pains to Sanskritise it as reflected in its various spellings found in them. If then the word was still very close to its original form as late as the seventh century A. D. and had not yet finally settled in the form *Śarabhaṅga* even in the tenth century A. D., it is highly improbable that it could be employed in its fully Sanskritised form in a record dated as early as 412 A. D.\* We are, therefore, inclined to agree with the current view that *Śarabhaṅga* in the record under consideration is a personal name and not an official designation.

In view of the above, we would prefer to translate the relevant expression in the Sanchi inscription as 'purchased at the usual price from Maja, *Śarabhaṅga* and *Āmrarāta* of the royal household'.\*

21 *Jātaka* (B. Fausboell, London, 1877-96), Vol. V, pp. 123, 132-36; *Suttanipāta-Aṭṭhakathā* (P.T.S. ed.), Vol. II, p. 581; *Mahāvastu* (ed. E. Senart, Paris, 1882-97), Vol. I, p. 363; Ram Kumar Rai, *Vālmikīrāmāyaṇakośa* (Varanasi, 1965), pp. 354-55.

\*[*Śarabhaṅga* as a personal name may be preferable (cf. *JAIH*, Vol. IV, p. 317); but the designation must have entered into Indian administration during the Scytho-Parthian occupation of North-Western Bhāratavarṇa many centuries earlier, and it is probably not expected that the pace of Sanskritization would be similar at the court of the foreign Śāhis of the said region and that of the indigenous Indian kings elsewhere.—Ed.]

## COIN-TYPES OF THE KINGS OF KACHĀR\*

VASANT CHAUDHURY and  
PARIMAL RAY

The Kachāris are supposed to be aborigines of the Brahma-putra valley.<sup>1</sup> The first Kachāri king to strike coins in his own namé was Yaśonārāyaṇadeva. A silver coin dated Śaka 1505 (1583 A. D.) of this king<sup>2</sup> bears the epithet *Hāceṅgsā-vāṇśaja*<sup>3</sup> and *Hara-Gaurī-carāṇa-kamala*.... This signifies that the Kachāri rulers claimed descent from Hāceṅgsā or Ha-tsung-tsa, and that Yaśonārāyaṇa professed devotion to Hara-Gaurī, a combined aspect of Śiva and Śakti.\*\* Subsequently, another coin of Yaśonārāyaṇa (Śaka 1507) was noticed (see below).

According to Gait's *History of Assam* (p. 300), the Kachāris are believed to be very closely allied to the Koch people. It is remarkable that the legends, and calligraphy as well, on the coins issued by the kings of Kachār and the Koch kings are very similar. But the designs of Kachār coins are more akin to the coins of the Sultāns of Bengal. The legends are in the Sanskrit language and inscribed in old Bengali characters. The coins bear the name of the king and the date on the obverse, and an expression of religious faith on the reverse.\*\*\* The

\*[ The name is commonly spelt *Cachar*.—Ed.]

1 Edward Gait, *A History of Assam*, 3rd ed., p. 299.

2 A. W. Botham, *Catalogue of the Provincial Coin Cabinet, Assam*, p. 539.

3 This expression also occurs on one of the coins of Pratāpanārāyaṇa (cf. A. N. Lahiri, 'A Unique Silver Coin of Viravijayanārāyaṇa', *Indian Museum Bulletin*, Vol. II, No. 1, 1967, p. 25). The latter has also described himself as *S'rihaṭṭavijayin* on his coin now in the British Museum (*ibid.*, p. 27, note).

\*\*[ *Hara-Gaurī* usually means Śiva and Pārvatī and not necessarily the composite form of the two, called Ardhanārīśvara.—Ed.]

\*\*\*[ The legend seems to commence with the said epithet of the king. For translation, see Sircar, *Stud. Ind. Coins*, XXII/4, 6, 7, 8 ; cf. XXII/9.—Ed.]

legend covers both sides of the coin, continuing from the obverse to the reverse, e. g., *śrī-śrī-Pratāpanārāyaṇa-bhūpālasya Śāke 1528* ; *śrī-śrī-Śiva-charaṇa-kamala-madhukarasya*, “[struck by] the illustrious monarch Pratāpanārāyaṇa in the Śaka [year] 1528 ; [ he expresses his devotion as ] a bee on the lotus-feet of the illustrious Śiva.”

It appears that the kings of Kachār and Cooch Behar expressed their devotion to Hindu deities on their coins even before this became a regular feature of the coins of the rulers of Assam, using almost identical words. This indicates a socio-religious and cultural link among the regions of the north-east.

Traditionally, Kachāri coins are hand-made and are known in gold and silver. They are round in shape and struck on a thin blank with a broad fabric, the exceptions being the coins of Lakṣmicandranārāyaṇa and his son Govindacandra, who were the latest kings of the dynasty. As on Koch coins, the queen's name never appears on the coins issued by the Kachāri rulers, unlike the case of the coins of Tripurā. The Kachāri (also Ahom) weight standard of 11.41 gms. resembles that of the Bengal Sultāns' coins.

The coins of Kachāri kings show that the cult of Śiva and the combined cult of Śiva-Śakti had equal footing, and this continued upto the reign of Hariścandranārāyaṇa (1720 A.D.), or may be, some time later. Yaṣonārāyaṇa's successors on the Kachāri throne, Śatrudamana and Bhīmadarpanārāyaṇa, were devout Śaivas : the legend on their coins describes them as *śrī-śrī-Śiva-charaṇa-kamala-madhukara*. Bhīmadarpa was succeeded by his son Indravallabha who professed allegiance to the cult of Śiva-Śakti. His epithet appears to read *śrī-śrī-Hara-Gaurī-charaṇa-kamala-madhukarasya*.<sup>4</sup> Recently a gold

4 See our note entitled 'A Unique Gold Coin-type of the Kachāri Kings', in *Monthly Bulletin of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. V, No. 9, September, 1970.

coin dated Śaka 1550<sup>5</sup> struck by Indravallabha and bearing the bust of Hara-Gaurī on the reverse engraved in linear form has been noticed by us.\* It shows that the cult of Śiva-Śakti was at its zenith during the reign of Indravallabha. The wave of Śiva cult is observed again at the time of Vīradarpanārāyaṇa, the successor of Indravallabha. Thereafter no coins of the subsequent rulers, Garuḍadhvaja, Makaradhvaja and Udayāditya, have yet been found. The influence of Śiva-Śakti cult was again evident during the reign of Tāmradhvajanārāyaṇa. An undated coin describes him as a devotee of Hara-Gaurī.

Coins of Suradarpanārāyaṇa, the son of Tāmradhvaja, have not yet been found, while a gold coin of Hariścandranārāyaṇa, dated Śaka 1642, describes him as a worshipper of Śiva.<sup>6</sup> Incidentally, an inscription of Śaka 1643 on a rock-cut temple at Maibong shows Hariścandranārāyaṇa's devotion to Raṇacaṇḍī, the war-goddess of Tāntric Hinduism (*śrī-śrī-Raṇacaṇḍī-pad-āravinda-madhukarasya*).<sup>7</sup> Further, the inscription glorifies Hariścandra as 'the lord of Hidimba', the ancient name of Kachār being Hidimbapura. Significantly enough, the Kachāris were deeply devoted to the Tāntric cult though they are originally of non-Hindu extraction.

Recently, we have come across a gold and a silver coin, both dated Śaka 1694 and issued by Lakṣmicandranārāyaṇa who must have been the father of Govindacandra, the last ruler of the Kachār dynasty. Certain historical facts lend support to

5 The date, which appears to read as Śaka 1550, is confusing. A coin of Bhīmadarpanārāyaṇa, the father of Indravallabha, bears the date Śaka 1552. However, the coin is still under study. It belongs to Sri Babulal Jain of Calcutta.

\*[The figure represents Hara and Gaurī and not their combined form.—Ed.]

6 See note 4 above.

7 A. C. Chaudhury, *S'rihaṭṭer Itivṛtta*, Vol. II, p. 102.

this assumption. Ghosal's *History of Cooch Behar* says that, about 1745 A. D., as Bhīmasimha had no son, his son-in-law the Kachār prince Lakṣmīcandra, assumed charge of Khāspur. After Lakṣmīcandra, his son Kṛṣṇacandra (1780-1813 A. D.) and then Govindacandra (1813-1830 A. D.) ruled in Kachār.<sup>8</sup> On this basis, it may be presumed that, in course of time, Lakṣmīcandranārāyaṇa, after his installation as a governor, gained power and became *de facto* ruler and struck coins accordingly. It is interesting to note that the coins, both of gold and silver, struck by Lakṣmīcandranārāyaṇa, are unlike the issues of his predecessors, because they are octagonal in shape in imitation of the coins issued by the Ahom kings. This break in the traditional shape of the Kachār coins possibly signifies the supremacy of the Ahom king upon Lakṣmīcandranārāyaṇa.

Lakṣmīcandranārāyaṇa was a worshipper of Raṇacaṇḍī. On his coins, the king is called *śrī-śrī-Raṇacaṇḍī-pāda-padma-makaranda-madhukara* (i. e., 'a bee to the honey of the lotus-feet of Raṇacaṇḍī'). It is noteworthy that the war-like aspect of Caṇḍī as Raṇacaṇḍī has appeared only on the coinage of Kachāri rulers though the Hindu kings of Bengal, Danujamardana and Mahendradeva, who issued coins in Śaka 1339 and Śaka 1340 respectively, enjoyed the epithet *śrī-Caṇḍī-carāṇa-parāyaṇa*.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, a coin in the cabinet of the Indian Museum has been described by A. N. Lahiri as issued by Viravijayanārāyaṇa who was a worshipper of Candī.<sup>10</sup>

No coin of Kṛṣṇacandra, the son of Lakṣmīcandra, has yet been found. He was succeeded by his brother Govindacandra, the last Kachāri king, in 1813 A. D. A coin of this ruler

8 See p. 293.

9 See *JASB, NS*, No. XLIII, 1930, Article No. 298 (H. E. Stapleton, 'Coins of Danujmardana Deva and Mahendra Deva, two Hindu Kings of Bengal'), p. 5.

10 *Op. cit.*, p. 26.

dated in chronogram as Śaka 1736,<sup>11</sup> has the legend reading *śrī-śrī-Govindacandraśya rājño - 'nga-try-adri kau Śake : Haiḍimba-pūr-adhiśa-śrī-Raṇacaṇḍi-padājuṣa*.<sup>\*</sup> In the chronogram, *aṅga* = 6, *tri* = 3, *adri* = 7 and *ku* = 1. Thus we have Śaka 1736 according to *vāma-gati*.

A list of the Kachār kings<sup>12</sup> and their coins is given below.

1. Khun Kara (death 1531 A. D.). No coin.
2. Detsung (accession 1531 A. D., death 1536 A. D.). No coin.
3. Meghanārāyaṇa, 1576 A.D. (from a stone inscription of Śaka 1498, noticed in *IHQ*, Vol. II, p. 616).
4. Yaśonārāyaṇadeva (1538 A. D.).  
Silver Rupee (Botham, *op. cit.*, p. 539).  
Do. (*IHQ*, Vol. II, p. 616).
5. Śatrudamana *alias* Pratāpnārāyaṇa (1606 A. D., 1610 A. D.)

Silver Rupees in the authors' possession.

Size : 39.40 mms., Weight : 7.10 gms.

Obverse : (1) *śrī-śrī-Pra-* (2) *tāpanārāya-* (3) *ṇa-bhūpālasya*  
(4) *Śāke 1528*

Reverse : (1) *śrī-śrī-* (2) *Śiva-caraṇa-* (3) *kamala-ma-* (4) *dhukāśya* [Fig. 1]

Silver Quarter Rupee in the possession of H. P. Poddar, Calcutta.

Size : 19.00 mms., Weight : 2.50 gms.

Obverse : (1) *śrī-śrī-* (2) *Pratāpa-* (3) *nārāya...*

Reverse : (1) *śrī-śrī-* (2) *Śiva-ca-* (3) *raṇa-ka...* [Fig. 2]

Silver Rupee in the authors' possession.

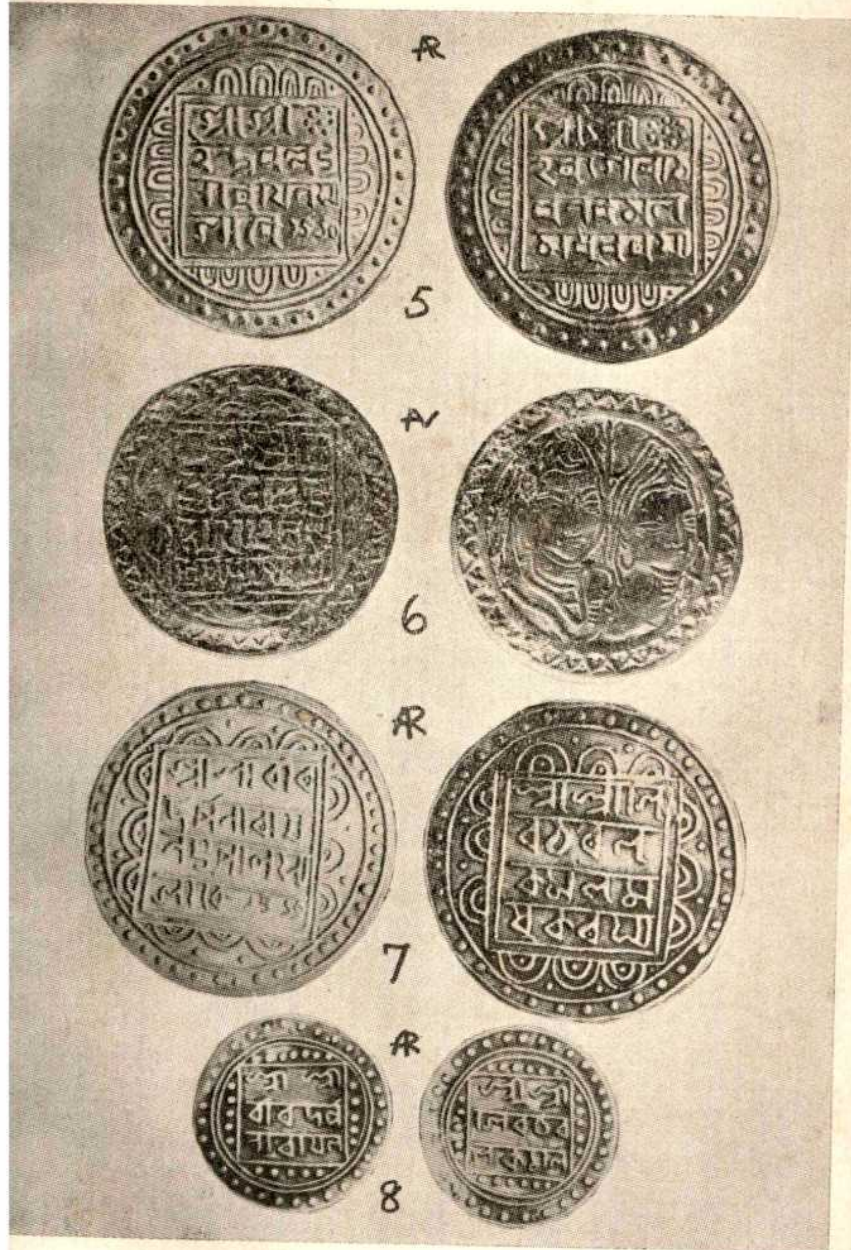
Size : 41.00 mms., Weight : 7.75 gms.

Obverse : (1) *śrī-śrī-Indra-* (2) *pratāpanā-* (3) *rāyaṇasya*  
(4) *Śāke 1530*

<sup>11</sup> See Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, p. 398 (XXII/9).

<sup>\*</sup>[The legend seems to have ended with a reference to the date.—Ed.]

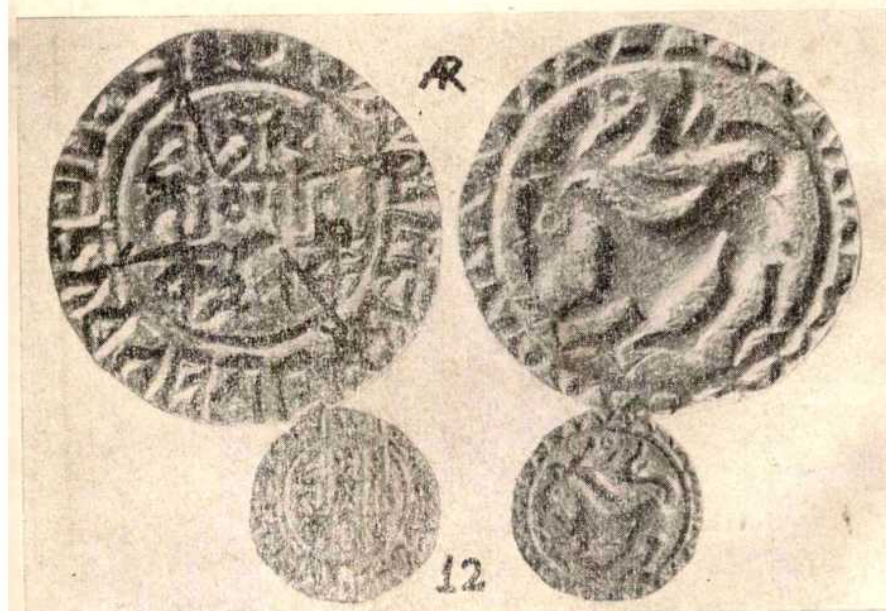
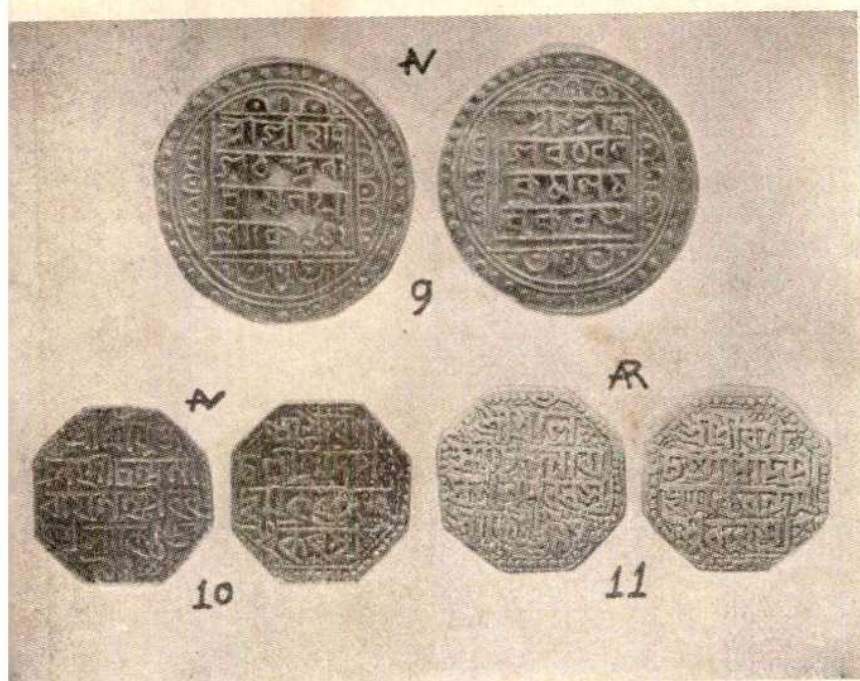
<sup>12</sup> The names and dates, except Meghanārāyaṇa and Lakṣmī-candranārāyaṇa, have been taken from Gait, *op. cit.*, p. 419.



Figs. 5-8. Coins of Kachār (pp. 204ff.).  
Courtesy : V. Chowdhury and P. Ray.



PLATE VIII



Figs. 9-11. Coins of Kachār (pp. 204ff.).  
Fig. 12. Coin of Dhanyamāṇikya (pp. 375-76.).

Reverse : *śrī-śrī-* (2) *Śiva-caraṇa-* (3) *kamala-ma-* (4)  
*dhukarasya* [Fig. 3]

Silver Quarter Rupee (Botham, *op. cit.*, p. 541).

5. Naranārāyaṇa. No coin.

6. Bhīmadarpa or Bhīmabala (death 1637 A. D.).

Gold Muhar in the possession of H. P. Poddar, Calcutta.

Size : 36.71 mms., Weight : 11.60 gms.

Obverse : (1) *śrī-śrī-Bhīma-* (2) *darpanārāya-* (3) *ṇa-bhū-*  
*pālasya* (4) *Śāke 1552*

Reverse : (1) *śrī-śrī-* (2) *Śiva-caraṇa-* (3) *kamala-ma-*  
(4) *dhukarasya* [Fig. 4]

7. Indravallabha.

Silver Rupee in the authors' possession.

Size : 41.00 mms., Weight : 12.60 gms.

Obverse : (1) *śrī-śrī-* (2) *Indravallabha-* (3) *nārāyaṇasya*  
(4) *Śāke 1560.*

Reverse : (1) *śrī-śrī-* (2) *Hara-Gaurī-ca-* (3) *raṇa-kamala-*  
(4) *madhukarasya.* [Fig. 5]

Gold Muhar in the possession of Babulal Jain, Calcutta.

Size : 39.40 mms., Weight : 10.20 gms.

Obverse : (1) *śrī-śrī-* (2) *Indravallabha-* (3) *nārāyaṇasya*  
(4) *Śāke 1550 (in Nāgarī).*

Reverse : Within circle, crowned bust of Śiva and Durgā  
(engraved in linear form), trident in between ;  
hooded serpent around Śiva's neck ; third eye,  
and crescent above his crown. [Fig. 6]

8. Viradarpa (1644 A. D., 1671 A. D., death 1681 A. D.).

Silver Rupee in the authors' possession.

Size : 39.50 mms., Weight : 10.40 gms.

Obverse : (1) *śrī-śrī-Vīra-* (2) *darpanārāya-* (3) *ṇa-bhū-*  
*pālasya* (4) *Śāke 1565*

Reverse : (1) *śrī-śrī-Śi-* (2) *va-caraṇa-* (3) *kamala-ma-*  
(4) *dhukarasya* [Fig. 7]

Silver Half Rupee in the possession of Babulal Jain, Calcutta.

Size : 24.55 mms., Weight : 5.38 gms.

Obverse : (1) *śrī-śrī-* (2) *Viradarpa-* (3) *nārāyaṇa*

Reverse : (1) *śrī-śrī-* (2) *Śiva-cara-* (3) *ṇa-kamala\** [Fig. 8]

9. Garudadhvaja (accession 1681 A.D., death 1695 A.D.).  
No coin.

10. Makaradhvaja (death 1695 A. D.). No coin.

11. Udayāditya. No coin.

12. Tāmradhvaja (1706 A. D., death 1708 A. D.).

Silver Quarter Rupee (JASB, Vol. VI, No. 4, Plate XXIII/10).

13. Suradarpa (accession 1708 A. D.). No coin.

14. Hariścandranārāyaṇa (1721 A. D.).

Gold Muhar in the possession of H. P. Poddar, Calcutta.

Size : 36.40 mms., Weight : 12.00 gms.

Obverse : (1) *śrī-śrī-Hari-* (2) *ścandranā-* (3) *rāyaṇasya* (4).  
*Śāke 1642*

Reverse : (1) *śrī-śrī-* (2) *Śiva-caraṇa-* (3) *kamala-ma-*  
(4) *dhukarasya* [Fig. 9]

15. Kīrticandranārāyaṇa (1736 A. D.). No coin.

16. Sandhikārī (1765 A. D.). No coin.

17. Hariścandranārāyaṇa Bhūpati (1771 A. D.). No coin.

18. Lakṣmicandranārāyaṇa.

Octagonal Gold Muhar in the possession of G. S. Beed, Calcutta.

Size : 25.35 mms., Weight : 11.55 gms.

Obverse : (1) *śrī-śrī-yukta-* (2) *Lakṣmicandranā-* (3) *rāyaṇa-*  
*ṇapavara-* (4) *sya Śāke 16-* (5) 94

Reverse : (1) *śrī-śrī-Raṇa-* (2) *caṇḍī-pāda-pa-* (3) *dma-*  
*makaranda ma-* (4) *dhukarasya* [Fig. 10]

\*[The intended reading may be .....kamale....nārāyaṇaḥ. Cf. *Śiva-Durgā-pade* in Sircar's *SIC*, p. 397, XXII/3.—Ed.]

Octagonal Silver Rupee in the possession of H. P. Poddar, Calcutta.

*Size* : 26.60 mms., *Weight* : 10.37 gms.

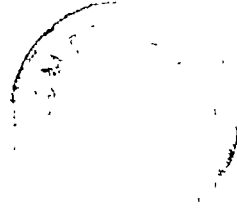
*Obverse* : (1) *śrī-śrī-La-* (2) *kṣmicandranārā-* (3) *yaṇa-*  
*nṛpavarasya* (4) *Śāke 1694*

*Reverse* : (1) *śrī-śrī-Raṇa-* (2) *caṇḍī-pada-pa-* (3) *dma-*  
*makaranda-ma-* (4) *dhukarasya* [Fig. 11]

19. Kṛṣṇacandra (1709 A. D., death 1813 A. D.). No coin.

20. Govindacandra (accession 1813 A. D., death 1830 A. D.).

Silver Rupee (*JASB*, Vol. VI, No. 4, p. 166).



## IMPRECATORY VERSES IN THE EPICS

ASIM KUMAR CHATTERJEE

In the Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa<sup>1</sup> of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, we have a number of interesting imprecatory *ślokas* put in the mouth of Bharata and addressed to Kauśalyā. The innocent prince uttered these verses in order to show that he was in no way connected with his mother's designs against Rāma. The total number of such verses here is 38. In the Anuśāsana-parvan of the *Mahābhārata*, we have in two consecutive chapters<sup>2</sup> a number of similar verses spoken by several famous personalities like Vasiṣṭha, Atri, Viśvāmitra, Gotama, Ambariṣa, Nābhāga, Yayāti, Dilīpa and others. The total number of such verses in the two chapters is 46. However, at least 9 verses of Chapter 93 also occur in the next chapter. So the total number of such verses in the *Mahābhārata* is round about 37, i. e. almost the same number as that of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

A careful analysis of the verses of the two works would show that there are quite a few common verses or expressions in the two lists. The duties and responsibilities of individuals of almost all walks of life have been enumerated directly or indirectly in these stanzas. What a person should do as a father, son, daughter-in-law, disciple, friend, king or subject has all been mentioned in the imprecatory verses of the two epics. Even some of the domestic and humanitarian duties and responsibilities have been outlined. It is easy to see that these verses have been influenced by the Smṛti works. As for example, when Bharata says,<sup>3</sup>

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1 75. 21-58.

2 93-94.

3 Ayodhyā, 75.25.

*ball-ṣaḍ-bhāgam = uddhṛtya nṛpasy = ārakṣituḥ prajāḥ /*

*adharmo yo = 'sya so = 'sy = āstu yasy = āryo = 'numate gataḥ //*  
we are reminded of what the majority of Smṛti writers<sup>4</sup> have said on this point. It is also enjoined that, if the subjects (*prajāḥ*) rebel against a just and ideal king, they will be guilty of a great crime.<sup>5</sup> Several imprecatory verses of both the Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa and the Anuśāsana-parvan indicate the duties and responsibilities of other castes towards the Brāhmaṇas.<sup>6</sup> The duties of wives<sup>7</sup> and husbands<sup>8</sup> have also been indirectly hinted at in these verses. Stress has also been laid on the ethical values<sup>9</sup> and civic duties.<sup>10</sup> Begging<sup>11</sup> and drinking<sup>12</sup> have been strongly disapproved. The profession of farmers<sup>13</sup> has been disliked and the life of a penniless wanderer is considered not very covetable.<sup>14</sup> Incestuous and adulterous relationship<sup>15</sup> and giving false witness<sup>16</sup> have been decried. The physician's profession has not been praised.<sup>17</sup> Needless to say, all such prescriptions are found in the principal Smṛti works.

In both the epics, possession of a large number of children is regarded as a curse. The expression *bahuputraḥ syāt* used

4 Manu, VIII, 304ff. ; Viṣṇu, III. 11 ; Yājñavalkya, I. 335.

5 Ayodhyā, 75.24.

6 *Ibid.*, 75.26, 54 ; Anuśāsana, 93.119 ; 94.26, 29, etc.

7 Anuśāsana, 93.38-39 ; 94.38.

8 Ayodhyā, 75.52, 55.

9 *Ibid.*, 75.21, 28, 32-33, 41, 45, etc. ; Anuśāsana, 93.116, 129 ; 94.31, 35, etc.

10 Ayodhyā, 75.56 ; Anuśāsana, 93.120.

11 Ayodhyā, 75.40 ; Anuśāsana, 94.17, 34.

12 Ayodhyā, 75.41.

13 Anuśāsana, 93.125 ; 94.19.

14 Ayodhyā, 75.40 ; Anuśāsana, 93.114 ; 94.40.

15 Ayodhyā, 75.45, 55.

16 Anuśāsana, 93.116 ; 94.18.

17 *Ibid.*, 94.22.

in the Anuśāsana-parvan<sup>18</sup> is also to be found in the Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa.<sup>19</sup> It should be noted that, in another place of the Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa,<sup>20</sup> the Brāhmaṇa Trijata bemoans to Rāma that he is burdened with a large number of children—

*nirdhano bahu-putro = 'smi rājaputra mahābala.*

The kicking of a cow or to make water facing the sun are among the most grievous offences according to both the Ayodhyākāṇḍa<sup>21</sup> and the Anuśāsana-parvan<sup>22</sup>—

*sa gāṁ spṛśatu pādēna Sūryaṁ ca prati mehatu.*

We are giving below a free translation of the verses in question found in the two epics.

*Rāmāyaṇa*

[The person who is responsible for Rāma's banishment.]

*Mahābhārata*

[The person who has stolen the lotus-stalk of Agastya].

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|---|--|
| <p>1. Let him be the slave of a sinner ; may he urinate with his face turned towards the Sun and let him kick at a sleeping cow (II. 75.22).</p> <p>2. Although surrounded by servants, sons and other relatives, let that person consume good food alone (II.75.34).</p> | <p>1. Let him touch a cow with his foot ; may he urinate with his face turned towards the Sun (XIII. 93.113).</p> <p>2. Let her (if the guilty person is a woman)...consume good food alone (XIII 93.126).</p> |
|---|--|

18 93.124.

19 75.49.

20 32.34 ; cf. also the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (ed. Durgaprasad and Parab), IV. 1.137—

*tataḥ Piṅgalik=āyādid=devī duḥkhāya jāyate |*  
*praj=eyam pāpa-bhūyiḥ śhā daridreṣv=eva bhūyast ||*

21 75.22, 31.

22 93.113 ; 94.32 ; see also Viṣṇu, 60.22.

3. Burdened with a large number of children, poverty-stricken and with diseased body let him pass his days in dire misery (II. 75.49).

4. Let that person wander all over the world as a beggar in ragged cloth holding a skull in his hand (XII. 75.40).

5. Let that person be irreligious and godless and let him have a short life (II. 75.42).

6. Let him be ungrateful and lonely and let that person be deserted and hated by all (II. 75.33).

7. Let him not see the birth of his son out of the womb of his own wife... (II. 75.36).

8. Let his sin be as great as of that king who, after accepting a sixth of his subjects' produce as tribute, is unable to give them proper protection (II. 75.25).

9. Let the sin incurred by a person, who pollutes drinking water and who poisons others, fall upon him (II.75.56).

3. Let his preceptors and servants be supported by others even in his own lifetime ; may he remain helpless and burdened with a large number of children (XIII. 93.123).

4. Let him remain ignorant and live with his dogs ; let him pass his days as a beggar in the town (XIII. 94.17).

5. Let him be revengeful, cruel and unforgiving... (XIII. 94.16).

6. Let him be ungrateful to his friends and may he be born of a Śūdra mother... (XIII. 94.21).

7. May he be born as a slave and let him remain sonless... (XIII. 93.131).

8. May that person (if he is a king) be unwise, self-willed and behave like a sinner ; let him rule his kingdom unrighteously (XIII. 94.36).

9. Let that person ease himself upon water... (XIII. 93.120).



- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>10. Let him support his servants by selling lac, honey, animal flesh, iron and poison (II. 75.38).</p> <p>11. ...let him forsake his servants (II. 75.37).</p> <p>12. Let his intelligence be not dictated by the Śāstras (II. 75.21).</p> <p>13. Let him incur the sin of a person who quarrels without reason (II. 75.58).</p> <p>14. May that person destroy the <i>pūjā</i> meant for a Brāhmaṇa ... (II. 75.54).</p> | <p>10. ...let him live by selling Soma juice (XIII. 93.122).</p> <p>11. ...let him desert those who have taken refuge under him (XIII. 94.32).</p> <p>12. In spite of his knowledge, may he not be able to read the Vedas properly; let him also indulge in insulting the wise (XIII. 94.30).</p> <p>13. Let him be untruthful and quarrelsome (XIII. 93.129).</p> <p>14. ...let him vanquish the innocent Brāhmaṇas (XIII. 93.118).</p> |
|--|--|

Besides the verses, quoted above, there are other imprecatory stanzas in both the works which have little or no similarity among them. We are giving below a free translation of some of the important verses from both the works. From the *Rāmāyaṇa* : 1. Let him act like that master who has failed to reward his trusted and faithful servant (II. 75.23). 2. Let the sin of those subjects devolve upon him, who have risen against a just and dutiful king (II. 75.24). 3. Let his crime be equal to that of one, who after promising to give *dakṣiṇā* to an ascetic for his *yajña*, refuses to give anything (II. 75.26). 4. Let him fall in the same predicament as that warrior who fails to act nobly in the battlefield (II. 75.27). 5. Let him betray the secrets of those who placed their trust on him (II. 76.32). 6. Let the sin of regicide, infanticide and murder of old men devolve upon that person (II. 75.37). 7. Let him be killed

his strong enemies while he tries to flee from the battlefield (II. 75. 39). 8. Let him be addicted to wine, women and gambling ; and may he remain a slave of uncontrollable lust and anger (II. 75.41). 9. Let the robbers rob him of his hard-earned money (II. 75.43). 10. Let him incur the sin of that person who sleeps during dawn and dusk (II. 75.44). 11. Let him incur the sin of an *agnidāyaka* or of one who violates his preceptor's wife or of one who betrays his friends (II. 75.45). 12. May he not be able to serve and worship his gods, forefathers and his parents (II. 75.46). 13. Let him not get the opportunity of giving loans to the poor and needy (II. 75.50). 14. Let that irreligious rascal live by practising sorcery and let the wrath of the king fall upon him (II. 75.51). 15. Let him not be able to satisfy his wife who comes to him after taking bath after menstruation (II. 75.52). 16. Let him milk a cow that has just given birth to her young calf (II. 75. 54). 17. Let that person enjoy other men's wives after forsaking his own legal spouse (II. 75.55). 18. Let the sin of a person, who in spite of his possession of drinking water, refuses to give water to a thirsty person, fall upon him (II. 75.57). From the *Mahābhārata* : 1. May he kill those who have taken refuge under him and use his daughter for his livelihood ; may he be forced to beg from a niggardly person (XIII. 93.115). 2. Let him discuss everything with everybody and misappropriate the money entrusted to him ; may that person give false witness (XIII. 93.116). 3. Let him consume meat at improper times and give wealth to the undeserving ; let him commit intercourse with women at day-time (XIII. 93.117). 4. Let him engage in religious rites after ignoring his preceptor (XIII. 93.119). 5. Let him be unnecessarily proud because of his affluence ; may he remain a cultivator and a greedy person (XIII. 93.125). 6. Let him wander during the rainy-season and may he be a servant and priest of a king ; let him remain a preceptor of the faithless (XIII. 93.126). 7. Let her (if the person is a

woman) treat her mother-in-law with contempt and may she lose the favour of her husband (XIII. 93.127). 8. Living with her relatives, may she (if the person is a woman) consume alone barley-meal (*saktu*) at the end of the day; let her be treated with contempt and let her produce unheroic sons (XIII. 93.128). 9. After cooking his own food, may he consume that; let him live and die as a slave (XIII. 93.130). 10. Let him not do penances after killing a Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 94.20). 11. Let him become a physician and may he be dependent upon his wife; let him be forced to adopt the profession of his father-in-law (XIII. 94.22). 12. Let that person die without receiving proper funeral rites; may he disturb the *yajñas* and enter into enmity with ascetics (XIII. 94.26). 13. May he commit intercourse with his wife in improper periods and also disparage the sacred Vedas (XIII. 94.27). 14. Let him adopt the householder's life after becoming a traveller,\* and self-willed after taking initiation; may he impart knowledge to others after accepting money (XIII. 94.28). 15. Let him become a servant in the village and may he travel in a donkey-cart, etc. (XIII. 94.34). 16. May that person be more hated than a common sinner; and let him indulge in self-praise after giving *dāna* (XIII. 94.37). 17. May he stand on one foot for his livelihood in a village; in spite of his religious nature, may he forsake religion (XIII. 94.39). 18. May that person (if he is a *dvija*), after ignoring *agnihotra*, sleep happily; let him become a wanderer and self-willed person (XIII. 94.40). 19. Let her (if the thief is a cow) be milked with her legs bound with a rope of human hair, and with the aid of a calf not her own and, while milked, let her milk be held in a vessel of white brass (XIII. 94.41).

\* [This word does not express the idea properly. The word *parivrāj*, *parivrāja* or *parivrājaka* really means 'a wandering recluse' or 'an ascetic'. —Ed.]

## DATES OF SIKKIM COINS

PRANAB KUMAR BHATTACHARYA

Sikkim, lying between 27°5' and 28°5' N and 87°59' and 88°56' E, is surrounded by Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan and the Darjeeling District of West Bengal (India). Though the kingdom of Sikkim is supposed to have been established in the first decade of the sixteenth century,<sup>1</sup> Phuntsong Namgyal, the first consecrated ruler of Sikkim, flourished about the middle of the seventeenth century.<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to note that neither the kings nor the people of the land felt the necessity of any local coinage until the time of Thutob Namgyal (1874-1914), during whose reign coins appeared for the first time in Sikkim.<sup>3</sup>

It appears that, under the influence of Tseepa Lama, Lasso Athing, the brothers Khangsa Dewan and Phodong Lama,

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1 *Sikkim, a Concise Chronicle*, Publicity Department, Govt. of Sikkim, p. 5. The kingdom of Sikkim is also known as Denjong, Demojong or Demoshong (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXII, 1908, p. 365). Samuel van de Putte and Horace della Penna call the country Bramacjon (C. R. Markham, *Narrative of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet (1774) and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lasha*, 2nd ed., London, 1879, p. lxiv):

2 *Sikkim, a Concise Chronicle*, *op. cit.*, pp. 5, 8.

3 See Monmohan Chakravarti, 'Sikkim Copper Coins', in *JPASB*, NS, Vol. V, 1909, pp. 15-17; and W. A. Valentine, *The Copper Coins of India*, Part I, 1941, Ch. 'History of Sikkim'. I consulted the collections of His Highness the Chogyal of Sikkim at Gangtok, Mr. M. C. Pradhan, Retd. District Magistrate, at Kalimpong, and Mr. Ghatani, Advocate, at Kishan-ganj. In the old Sikkim law-book which was revised by De-Si-Sangye Gyatsho (born 1653 A. D.), it has been suggested that the fines are to be paid in gold and silver. The terms used in this connection are *Srang* and *Zho*, which possibly indicate certain weights (i. e. one *Srang*=one oz., one *Zho*=one drachm) rather than coin denominations. See *The Gazetteer of Sikkim*, Bengal Government Secretariat, Calcutta, 1894, pp. 46-54.

there were Nepalese settlements in Sikkim in the time of Thutob Namgyal.<sup>4</sup> Though the eviction of unlawful Nepalese settlements continued, the policy of settling the immigrants in the waste lands as propounded by the Khangsa Dewan brothers, who became ultimately the virtual Prime Minister of Sikkim, was recommended by the British Deputy Commissioner at Darjeeling.<sup>5</sup> The Khangsa brothers had in the meantime struck a deal with the Newar traders, the Lakshmidar brothers<sup>6</sup> of Darjeeling, for extracting copper from a few mines<sup>7</sup> discovered in Sikkim.

The system of trading by barter was prevalent in Sikkim from early times,<sup>8</sup> but the necessity of coins of lesser denominations for ordinary commercial transactions was actually felt by the business community towards the latter half of the nineteenth century.<sup>9</sup> The Indian Rupee already appear-

4 *Sikkim, a Concise Chronicle*, op. cit., p. 15.

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 16. Two Newar brothers, viz. Lakshmidar Pradhan and Chandrabir Pradhan, secured a mining lease for copper and also agricultural estates in Sikkim in 1868.<sup>1</sup> Cf. the letter of M. C. Pradhan of Kalimpong addressed to the Additional Deputy Commissioner, Darjeeling, dated the 30th September, 1952; also *The Gazetteer of Sikkim*, op. cit., pp. 57ff.

7 Of the copper mines discovered in Sikkim, the following may be mentioned: Tukkhani (near Turuk), Dajong, Rinchinpong, Temi, Bhotang, Pachikhani and Rathokhani (near Chakang). During the last decade of the nineteenth century, only the last two of the above mines were operative (*The Gazetteer of Sikkim*, p. 71).

8 In a letter addressed to the Newar trader Lakshmidar and supposed to have been issued from the Summer Palace of Sikkim (1882 to 1889), we find that, in exchange for five loads of salt, each consisting of 50 *maphal*, and ten woolen blankets, the following articles were ordered to be procured for offering feasts to the few Indian officers and workers who were coming to Sikkim on their way to Phari (Tibet). The original letter is in the possession of Mr. M. C. Pradhan of Kalimpong.

9 M. M. Chakravarti suggests that some of the ores 'lay dead stock for the comparative cheapness of foreign imported copper. So, with the appro-

ed there by way of subvention payable to the king of Sikkim.<sup>10</sup> Again, from a letter<sup>11</sup> of the Newar trader Lakshmidar Pradhan addressed to Col. Gajrejong Thapa, Governor of Elam in Nepal, it appears that from Samvat 1906 (i.e. 1849 A. D.) onwards, the Doli Paisa of Nepal was made current in the territory of Sikkim with the permission of the British. It may be mentioned here that the coins of Nepal were in circulation in Tibet even from an earlier period.<sup>12</sup>

The Newar traders, who were the owners of the copper mines of Sikkim, found that the minting of copper coins would not only facilitate commercial transactions, but would also be a profitable business. Hence, they decided to play the role of mint-masters (Taksārī) of the country. From Samvat 1939 (i.e. 1882 A. D.), the Doli Paisa and later the Chepte Paisa, in close imitation of the Nepalese currency, began to be issued by

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val of the Sikkim Raja Thotub Namgye, he (i.e. Lakshmidar Pradhan) had a part converted into pice' (*op. cit.*, p. 16). This does not seem to be correct. For, from *The Gazetteer of Sikkim* (1894), we learn that the export of copper to Nepal was stopped for the last two years and on the recent arrival of cheap Russian copper in Calcutta (*op. cit.*, p. 66), or in other words, all these happened long after discontinuation of the minting of Sikkim coins.

10 The king of Sikkim came into close alliance with the British by assisting them against the Gurkhas in 1814, and at the end of the war (1816) was rewarded with territory and the guarantee of protection. In February, 1835, the Raja granted the site of Darjeeling to the British, and received in lieu a pension of Rs. 3,000/- per annum. Henceforth, British influence over Sikkim was recognised despite the brief period of hostility between the two, and in 1890, Sikkim became a British protectorate. See *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXII, 1908, pp. 365-73; W. A. Valentine, *loc. cit.*

11 The rough copy of the original letter (in Nepali) is now in the possession of Mr. M. C. Pradhan of Kalimpong.

12 The valley of Nepal, before its conquest by the Gurkhas in 1768, was governed by three dynasties of Rajas, who all coined money. All money used in Tibet was coined by these Rajas, and this was a source of profit to them. See C. R. Markham, *op. cit.*, p. 129, note.

the Newar traders of Sikkim with the consent of the king and the approval of the British.<sup>13</sup> Thus, the Newar traders entered into new contracts with Thutob Namgyal for minting different kinds of coins. The first contract issued in response to the traders' petition for the Doli Paisa appears to have been lost. But the second contract (initially for 5 years) meant for the Chepte Paisa, which contains important information regarding the Doli Paisa as well, is now in the possession of Mr. M. C. Pradhan of Kalimpong.<sup>14</sup>

These new coins remained in circulation in Sikkim along with the coins of Nepal. Similarly, the Sikkim coins were also accepted as legal tender in the territories of Nepal. But ultimately the circulation of the coins of Sikkim was disallowed in Nepal, much to the inconvenience of the traders, and the Newar traders of Sikkim in particular. Hence the Newar trader Lakshmidar appealed to the Maharaja of Nepal requesting him to remove the restriction put on the circulation of the

13 See *supra*, note 11.

14 His Highness the Chogyal of Sikkim kindly supplied me with a photostat copy of the second contract (in Tibetan) along with its translation (vide the letter of Under Secretary to the Chogyal addressed to me, D. O. No. 1580/SC, dated August 23, 1971). Below I reproduce the relevant portion of the translation of the above: '... in accordance with their (i. e. the Newar traders') request made in the petition submitted by the latter requesting for permission to mint coins (Doli) we had written to Lord Eden Sahab through the Political Officer and obtained his concurrence. In pursuance thereof, order has been issued to Lakshmidar, the Newar trader, and others communicating grant of permission to mint coins. Recently, an application has been received through Garzong (i. e. Karmi Zongpon) requesting for permission to mint coins (Chepte) and in this connection order has been passed already granting permission for a period of 5 years subject to the condition that there should not be any hindrance to or failure in payment of the Government dues ... From the palace on the third day of the tenth month of the Water Sheep year.' [Seal]. Mr. M.C. Pradhan of Kalimpong thinks that the date is equivalent to Samvat 1939 (i. e. 1882 A. D.).

coins of Sikkim in his kingdom, (and afterwards to Col. Gajrejong Thapa, Governor of Elam, requesting him to influence the Maharaja on behalf of the traders in Samvat 1942 (i.e. 1885 A. D.) in the month of Śrāvaṇa (June-July).<sup>15</sup>

In reply to the above petition of Lakshmidar, the Government of Nepal clarified its stand through the Governor of Elam in the month of Āśvina (September-October), Samvat 1942 (i.e. 1885 A. D.), stating that the standard of the coins of Sikkim was inferior to that of the Nepal coins, particularly in respect of weight, and thus it could not be accepted in Nepal.<sup>16</sup> This decision of the Nepal Government gave a fatal blow to the minting business of Sikkim.<sup>17</sup> From the coins at our disposal it appears that no coin was issued by the Newar traders after Samvat 1942.

It may be pointed out that some of the Sikkim coins are dated in the Vikrama era. We have come across coins dated in Samvat 1940, 1941 and 1942,<sup>18</sup> though coins were struck in

15 See *supra*, notes 11 and 13. I reproduce below a few lines from the English translation (by Mr. M.C. Pradhan) of the original letter (in Nepali): "... On receiving information from the merchants that the Sikkim coin is no longer current in the jurisdiction of Dhankuta in Nepal, I have submitted a representation to the Maharaja of Nepal stating . . . If your honour also would very kindly make a submission to His Highness the Maharaja of Nepal in this matter and get an order passed [for the free movement of Sikkim coins in Nepal], it will be of great benefit to the lot of my humble self." [ Śrāvaṇa is July-August.—Ed. ]

16 The original letter (in Nepali) of the Governor of Elam (Nepal) addressed to *Taksāri* Lakshmidar Pradhan conveying the message of the Government of Nepal is now in the possession of Mr. M. C. Pradhan of Kalimpong.

17 Probably, a similar decision prohibiting the import of Sikkim coins into the Darjeeling District was made by the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling (*JPASB, op. cit.*, p. 16).

18 The coins of Sikkim dated Samvat 1941 and 1942 were noticed by M. M. Chakravarti (*op. cit.*, p. 17). I have noticed one issued in Samvat 1940 in the collection of Mr. M. C. Pradhan of Kalimpong.



Sikkim for the first time in Samvat 1939 as we have seen above, and such coins, known as Doli Paisa, bears no legend and date.<sup>19</sup> The later variety known as Chepte Paisa contains legends as follows :

*Obverse* : (1) *Śrī-śrī-śrī-* (2) *Sikima-pa-* (3) *tī-mahārāja-* (4) *Date.*

*Reverse* : *Śrī-śrī-śrī-* (2) *Sikima* (3) *Sarkāra.*

A few coins of Sikkim are described below :

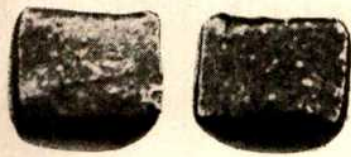
I. Doli Paisa. *Metal*—copper ; *Weight*—10.567 gms. ; *Size*—1.8 mms. × 1.3 mms. ; *Legend*—nil. It is now in the collection of Mr. M. P. Pradhan, Cultural Secretary to the Government of Sikkim, Gangtok, and one of the grandsons of the Newar traders.

II. Chepte Paisa. *Metal*—copper ; *Weight*—5.302 gms. ; *Size*—2.4 cms. ; *Legend*—as stated above ; *Date*—[Samvat] 1942. This well-preserved coin is now in the possession of His Highness the Chogyal of Sikkim, who kindly gave it to me for study.

III. Chepte Paisa. *Metal*—copper ; *Weight*—4.331 gms. ; *Size*—2.25 cms. ; *Legend*—as above ; *Date*—[Samvat] 1940. It is in the collection of Mr. M. C. Pradhan of Kalimpong, who is the grandson of the Newar trader Lakshmidar. He kindly gave it to me for study.

<sup>19</sup> M. M. Chakravarti, on the basis of numismatic evidence and hearsay, concluded that the coining was carried on for three years (1940-1942). See *op. cit.*, p. 16.

PLATE IX



1



2



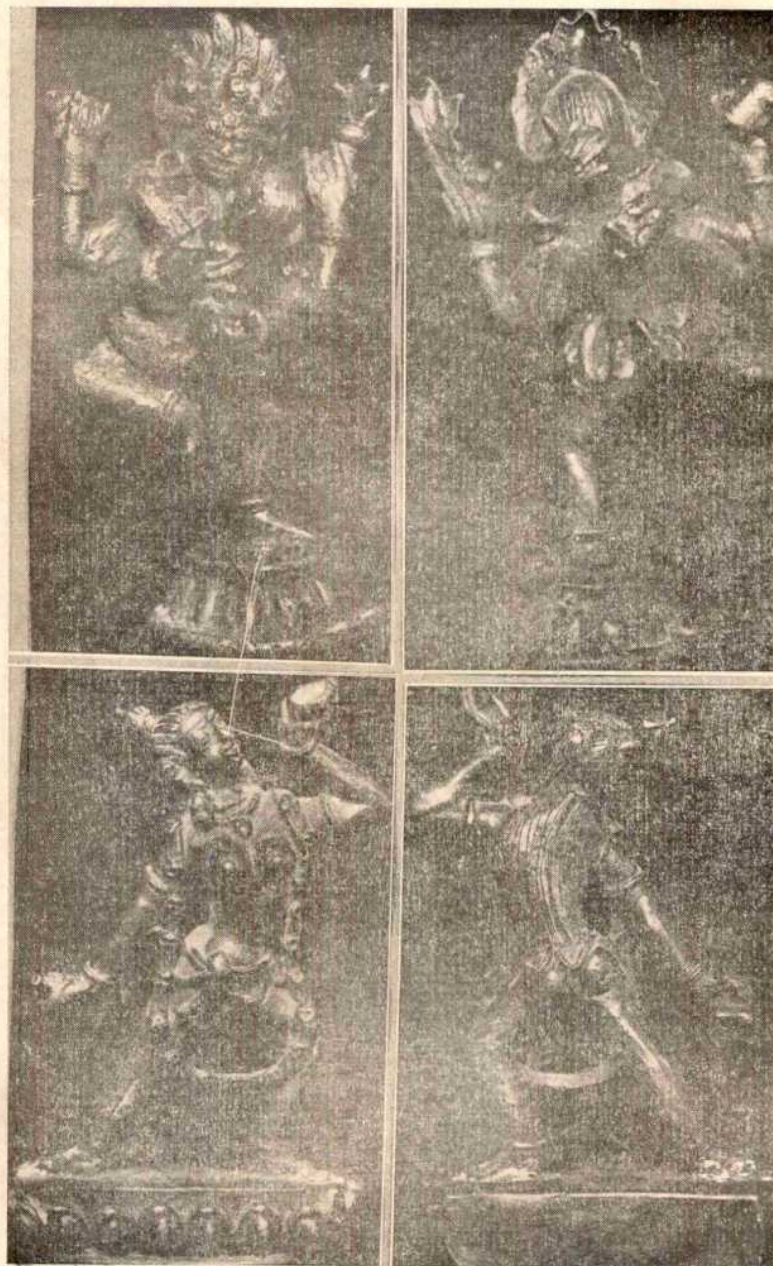
3



4

Figs. 1-3. Sikkim Coins (pp. 212ff.).  
Fig. 4. Figure from Lāñjī (pp. 240-41).

PLATE X



Two Bronze Figures from Nepal (pp. 23ff.).  
Figs. 1-2. Front and Back Views of No. 1.  
Figs. 3-4. Front and Back Views of No. 2.

## Editorial Note

Dr. P.K. Bhattacharya does not mention another type of the copper coins of Sikkim, the obverse and reverse legend on which appears to be the same as that on the *Cepṭe paisā* issued by Lakṣmīdhara Pradhāna and Candravīra Pradhāna, though it does not contain any date. The weight of the coin corresponds to that of Dr. Bhattacharya's No. III. In place of *Mahārāja* in the obverse legend, Smith read *butārāja* (*IMC*, p. 309) and I preferred *pratāpa* (*Stud. Ind. Coins*, p. 401); but because the second *akṣara* looks like *hā*, the correct reading may be *Mahārāja*. It will be seen that the weight of Dr. Bhattacharya's No. III is less than that of No. II by about a gramme (15.38 grains) and that explains the shortage of weight, apparently unauthorised, for which entry of the coins was banned in Nepal as indicated in the letter referred to by Dr. Bhattacharya (cf. note 16). The *Doli Paisā* (10.567 grammes) had double the weight of the early *Cepṭe Paisā* (5.302 grammes, the later *Cepṭe Paisā* being only 4.33 grammes).

The photographic copy of the Tibetan document referred to by Dr. Bhattacharya (note 14) is dated in Water-Sheep year said to correspond to Vikrama Saṁvat 1939 or 1882 A. D. In this connection, it may be mentioned that there is a three-line Nepalese hand-written endorsement below the Tibetan writing referring to the month of Māṁsir (Mārgaśīrṣa) in Saṁvat 1940. It reads : (1) *Saṁvat 1940 sāl miti Māṁsirmā Cepṭe* (2) *Paisā ... lāl-mohar banānā* (3) *rū 100/-* To the left of the above, there is a single-line Nepalese stamped endorsement which ends with the *akṣaraḥ ... prajālāḥ diyāko lāl mohar*. The bigger endorsement shows that, for the *lāl-mohar*, i.e. for stamping the seal to the document, the party had to pay Rs. 100/- to the Government, in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa in Saṁvat 1940, for the purpose of making *Cepṭe Paisā*.—D. C. S.

## FORMS OF MARRIAGE IN ANCIENT INDIA

ADHIR K. CHAKRAVARTI

Ancient Indian jurists recognized two, six or eight forms of marriage.<sup>1</sup> There are, of course, references in literature to the *svayamvara* type of marriage, the beginning of which may go back even to Rgvedic times.<sup>2</sup> Recently, L. Sternbach has regarded it as the ninth form of marriage.<sup>3</sup> One may discern two categories of *svayamvara*, viz. festive and ordinary, and the first of them may be classified into three types : (i) girls moving at will to find a husband (cf. the case of Sāvitrī), (ii) the *vīryasulkā* type in which the girl is won by the performance of extraordinary feats (cf. the cases of Sītā and Draupadī) and (iii) the princess choosing her husband from amongst the galaxy of princes assembled ceremonially in her father's court (cf. the cases of Damayantī and Indumatī). The ordinary *svayamvara*, on the other hand, was resorted to when the father or other lawful guardians failed to marry the girl after she had passed three monthly periods or three years from the attainment of puberty.<sup>4</sup>

1 D. C. Sircar, 'The Ten Forms of Marriage', *Indian Museum Bulletin*, Vol. V, No. 1, p. 7 ; cf. Kane, *Hist. Dharm.*, Vol. III, Part I, pp. 516ff.

2 RV, I. 116.17 ; I. 119.5 ; X. 85.14 ; B. S. Upadhyay, *Women in the Rgveda*, Benares, 1941, p. 70. For the *Mahābhārata*, cf. E. W. Hopkins, in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. XIII (1888), pp. 168ff., 357ff. ; also *Raghu.*, V. 76 ; VI. 67, 83.

3 *Juridical Studies in Ancient Indian Law*, Vol. I, Delhi, 1965, pp. 383-87 ; cf. H. N. Chatterji, 'A Critical Study of Svayamvara Form of Marriage', *Calcutta Review*, June, 1957, pp. 281-88.

4 *Baudh. Dh. S.*, IV. 1.14 (*trīṇi varṣāṇy=ṛtumatī kāṅkṣeta pītṛ-śāsanam | tataś=caturthe varṣe tu vindeta sadṛśam patim || avidyamāne sadṛśe guṇahīnam=api śrayet*) ; *Vīṣ. Dh. S.*, XXIV. 40 ; *Gautama Dh. S.*, XVIII

As observed by Hopkins and emphasized by Sternbach, in the festive *svayamvara*, the choice of the girl was largely restricted and the whole show was dominated by her father. As such, one wonders if this type of *svayamvara* can be regarded as an independent form of marriage. In essence it becomes a variety of the *brāhma* or *prājāpatya*. A more valid reason of its not being countenanced as a distinct form of marriage is that, when the girl is allowed to choose her mate freely, this partakes of the nature of the *gāndharva* form.<sup>5</sup> As regards the ordinary *svayamvara*, it has been argued further that since it arose out of negligence of the father or guardians, the authors of the ancient Indian legal texts, all staunch protagonists of the patriarchal form of society, were reluctant to concede it the status of a distinct form of marriage.

That in practice also the *svayamvara* marriage was not recognized as such will be evident from the testimony of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana. Kauṭilya<sup>6</sup> mentions only the traditional eight forms of marriage and does not even allude to *svayamvara*. Vātsyāyana,<sup>7</sup> on the other hand, refers to the four approved forms of marriage, but describes the *gāndharva*, *pañcāca* and *rākṣasa* forms. He omits altogether the *āsura* form. A very peculiar type of *svayamvara* has been mentioned by Vātsyāyana.<sup>8</sup> This differs from the usual *gāndharva* form in this that consummation takes place here before the union is announced or solemnised before fire. The

20; *Vas. Dh. S.*, XVII. 68; *Manu*, IX. 90-92; *Yāj.*, I. 64; *Nārada*, XII. 22. The text of *Nārada*'s verse published by Narayan Smrititirtha (Calcutta, 1951, p. 47) is slightly different from that given in Jolly's edition.

5 Cf. *Vīramitrodaya* on *Yāj.*, I. 61 (*evam ca svayamvaras=pi gāndharva-vivāha eva ca*); see also Sternbach, *op. cit.*, p. 385.

6 III. 2.1-9 (*Prakaraṇa* 59); III. 2.10—*pitṛ-pramāṇās=catvāraḥ pūrve dharmyāḥ*.

7 II. 1.21; cf. II. 5.17, 24-27.

8 II. 4.36; *R. Schmidt*, 4, Sec. 29, pp. 273-76.

element of consent of the bride distinguishes it, at the same time, from the *paśāca* form of marriage. Had *svayamvara* been considered an independent form of marriage this surely could not have escaped the notice of such practical sociologues free from all religious bias as Kauṭilya and Vātsyāyana.

But for a recent note by D. C. Sircar, there was really no occasion for a renewed discussion on the forms of marriage known in ancient India.<sup>9</sup> Sircar has drawn attention to the *Skanda Purāṇa*, Nāgara-khaṇḍa, Chapter 241, vv. 33-36, which makes a pointed reference to ten forms of marriage (*vivāha-daśadhā teṣāṃ daśadhā putratā bhavet*, v. 33). Apart from the eight traditional ones, the two new names contained in this list are *prātibha* and *ghātana* (*prātibho ghātanaś-c-eti vivāhāḥ kathitā daśa*, v. 36). These two, along with the four other forms are specifically mentioned as meant for the lower classes of the population (*ete hi hīna-jātināṃ vivāhāḥ parikīrtitāḥ*, v. 36). Since the Nāgara-khaṇḍa section of the *Skanda Purāṇa* is associated with the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas of Gujarat and describes in detail the holy places of the Hātakeśvara area (modern Ahmedabad District), Sircar thinks that the *prātibha* and *ghātana* forms of marriage were, and probably still are, prevalent among the lower class people of the Gujarat region. However, he admits that the words do not occur in the Gujarati-English Dictionary consulted by him.

P. V. Kane has referred to the possibility of interpolations creeping in the *Skanda Purāṇa*<sup>10</sup> so that the particular verses may be interpolations. H. N. Chatterji points out to me that no other text mentions the *prājāpātya* at the beginning of the list and this renders the value of the text somewhat dubious. But even admitting the passage as spurious, the interpolation

<sup>9</sup> See note 1 above ; also *Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. IV (1970-71), p. 306.

<sup>10</sup> *Hist. Dharm.*, Vol. V, pp. 911-12.



took place in the 12th or 13th century A. D.<sup>11</sup> The text therefore retains its importance as an evidence of the early mediaeval period and is valid at least for that part of India where it originated.

Sircar was unable to correlate the etymological meaning of *prātibha* and *ghātana* with a form of marriage. Sm. J. Maitra suggested that *prātibha* may have something to do with *pratibhū* so as to signify 'marriage through proxy,' and it appears that Sircar has not altogether rejected the suggestion.<sup>12</sup> In our opinion, though not quite regular, it is possible to derive *prātibha* from *prati + bhū + dah*.<sup>\*</sup> This derivation of the word has been accepted by H. N. Chatterji<sup>13</sup> who tries to explain it in the light of the *Arthasāstra*, III. 11.18 (*jīvita-vivāha-bhūmi-prātibhāvvyam—asaṅkhyāta-deśa-kālān tu putrāḥ pautrāḥ vā vaheyuḥ*). Shamasastri translates the passage as follows: "Any debt, the payment of which is not limited by time or place or by both and for which life, marriage or land is pledged, shall be borne by sons or grandsons."<sup>14</sup> This translation is evidently wrong. In the first place, the usual word for pledge in Kauṭilya is *ādhi*. Secondly, loan pledged by marriage makes no sense. R. P. Kangle translates it somewhat differently:

11 Sircar (*op. cit.*, p. 8, note 15) has referred to the mention of Rāmānuja in the Viṣṇu-khaṇḍa, 21, of the *Skanda Purāṇa*, the earliest palm-leaf MS of which goes back to the seventh century A.D. (cf. Haraprasad Sastri, *Catalogue of Nepal Palm-Leaf MSS*, Calcutta, 1901, p. lii). [The present text of the *Purāṇa* is late mediaeval.—Ed.]

12 *JAIH*, Vol. IV, p. 306; *Ind. Mus. Bul.*, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

\*[Neither *prātibha* nor *ghātana* is normally derivable.—Ed.]

13 See below proceedings of the Monthly Seminar held in December, 1971. [Since Kauṭilya does not prescribe marriages for low caste peoples, it is difficult to believe that he has in mind the *prātibha* marriage of the *Skanda Purāṇa*.—Ed.]

14 See *op. cit.*, p. 222.



"Sons or grandsons shall' bear liability for suretyship concerning life, marriage, or land to which no restriction as to place or time applies."<sup>15</sup> Apparently here is an allusion to a sort of marriage wherein there was provision for a surety.<sup>16</sup> However, the expression *jivita-vivāha-bhūmi-prātibhāvyam* should better be taken to refer to *ṛṇam* mentioned earlier in the text (III. 11.13) and to signify a debt in which (i) a person, (ii) some property which can be carried away, or (iii) land formed surety.<sup>17</sup>

Besides *pratibhū* and its derivative *prātibhāvyam*, Kauṭilya uses also *avastha* and cognate words to signify a surety or guarantor. If in certain passages this meaning is not clear,<sup>18</sup> it is not so in VIII. 4.33 (*saṁnidhātā kṛt-āvastham=anyaiḥ koṣa-praveśyaṁ pratigṛhṇāti*, "The Director of Stores receives as admissible in the treasury what is guaranteed by others").<sup>19</sup> The term *kṛt-āvastha* occurs in Manu (VIII. 60) which Medhātithi explains as *gṛhīta-prabhu*.<sup>20</sup> A similar term, viz. *sukh-*

15 *The Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra*, Vol. II, Bombay University, 1963, p. 263.

16 For references to suretyship and its functioning in ancient India, see Sternbach, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-99; H. N. Chatterji, *Law of Debt in Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1971, pp. 135ff.

17 Sternbach, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-90, note 60.

18 In some passages, Kangle translates *avastha* as 'guarantee' (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 101, 222). In IX. 6.23 (*ludham kṣīṇam vā tapasvi-mukhy-āvasthāpanā-pūrvvam dānena sādhayet*), *tapasvi-mukhy-āvasthāpanā-pūrvvam* has been taken by Shamasastri to mean 'ascetics and chiefs who have been previously kept with him (i. e. the king)', while Kangle translates it as 'after first making an ascetic or a chief stand surety' (*op. cit.*, p. 490). In the particular context, Kangle's translation does not help us. We fail to understand how Chatterji reads here the idea of 'presenting a surety' (cf. *Law of Debt in Ancient India*, p. 142).

19 Kangle, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 461-62.

20 [Sic—Ed.] Bhutnath Saptatirtha renders the expression into Bengali as *jāmln-yukta* in his translation of the commentary of Medhātithi (Calcutta, 1954), Vol. III, p. 739.

*āvastha*, has been used by Kauṭilya thrice and everytime in connexion with the maintenance of a wife. III. 4.9 states that, being ill-treated by her husband, a woman without committing an offence, can take shelter to a *sukh-āvastha* among others (*pativiprakārāt patijñāti-sukhāvastha-grāmik-ānvādhi-bhikṣukī-jñātikulānām = anyatamañ puruṣaṁ gantum - adoṣaḥ ity = ācāryāḥ*). Similarly, the *sukh-āvasthas* are to maintain her for four or eight years if she is unprovided for during her husband's stay abroad (*aprativihitāḥ sukh-āvasthā vibhryuḥ*, III.4.26). Lastly, she can remarry at will or for the sake of gaining livelihood only when the affluence of her family has disappeared and she has been released by the *sukh-āvasthas* (*kuṭumb-ardhi-lope vā sukh-āvasthair = vimuktā yatheṣtaṁ vindet jīvit-ārtham = āpad-gatā vā*, III. 4.30). The first of these three passages refers to a privilege of the wife ; the second mentions the obligation of the *sukh-āvastha* to maintain her for a stipulated period ; and the third emphasizes the authority of the *sukh-āvastha* to release a wife from the nuptial bond. It is therefore likely that the term denoted not simply a gentleman or well-to-do relation as has been understood by Śaṃśāstry,<sup>21</sup> but rather a trustee as taken by Kangle.<sup>22</sup> The question is : Does it really follow that the *sukh-āvastha* had any role to play in the mode of consecration of marriage which alone is the criterion to distinguish one form of marriage from another ? It is more likely that the subsequent intervention of the *sukh-āvastha* in the affairs of a married couple did not spring forth from the modality of consecrating the ceremony of marriage. Instead, it proves that in the opinion of Kauṭilya, all marriage, irrespective of form, was a contract

21 *Op. cit.*, pp. 200-01.

22 *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 337-39.

and was guaranteed by a number of trustees.<sup>23</sup> As a matter of fact, the *Arthasāstra* (III. 4.31-34) implies that, even in the four approved forms of marriage, a bride-price (*śulka*) had to be paid. This explains why the question of revocation of marriage has been dealt with by Kauṭilya in the section on revocation of sale and purchase (III. 15. 11). It may thus be concluded that Kautilya does not recognize even indirectly a special form of marriage involving surety.

In our opinion, *pratibha* is that form of marriage in which the father of the bride gives away his daughter to the representatives of the bridegroom who remains absent all through the ceremony. There is at least two versions of one such 'marriage through proxy' in early Indian literature. Thus, according to the *Kusa Jātaka*, the marriage of the ugly prince Kusa, son of the Okkāka king of Kusāvati, with the Madda princess Pabhāvatī was negotiated by the emissaries (*rājadūtā*) of the Okkāka king. After the marriage was agreed upon, the emissaries returned to their country and informed their king. Soon afterwards, the Okkāka king accompanied by his queen Silavatī, mother of prince Kusa, and others set out from Kusāvati and reached the city of Sāgala, the capital of the Madda kingdom. One or two days later, Silavatī asked the Madda king to give his daughter in marriage. Accordingly, the Madda king presented before them his daughter Pabhāvatī adorned with all ornaments and accompanied by her maids. She paid homage to her mother-in-law. At this stage, Silavatī said that, according to their family custom, the bride could not see the face of her husband by daytime till her first conception. She wanted to know from the Madda king if his daughter was ready to observe the vow. Accordingly, he asked her the question and she answered in the affirmative. After receiving her formal

23 The use of the plural in III. 4.26 and III. 4.30 is to be noted. See K. P. Jayaswal, *Manu and Yājñavalkya* (Calcutta, 1930), p. 221.

consent, the Okkāka king gave the Madda king an enormous quantity of wealth and the Madda king despatched his daughter with a vast retinue.<sup>24</sup>

In this story, Sīlavatī takes resort to this stratagem with a view to securing a beautiful bride for her ugly son. But the stratagem would not have worked if such marriage in absentia had not been in vogue in society in North-East India at the time when the *Kusa Jātaka* was composed or compiled. Another version of the story is contained in the *Mahāvastu Avadāna* which categorically states that what was celebrated in the absence of the prince was nothing less than the ceremony of marriage (*vivāha-dharma*).<sup>25</sup>

It may, however, be noted that, even in this type of marriage, the bride-price is paid to the father of the bride and she is offered bedecked with ornaments by her father. However, it differs from the four approved forms of marriage in that the consent of the bride is a *sine qua non* for the performance of the ceremony. In any case, it stands out to reason that the *Kusa Jātaka* and *Mahāvastu Avadāna* story contains an example of marriage through representatives of the bridegroom though the technical term *prātibha* does not occur in these texts.

A somewhat similar marriage custom has been recorded by W.W. Hunter as prevalent among the Bhuyias of Orissa. When a boy falls in love with a girl, he sends her a formal proposal through his friends. If the offer is accepted, a day is fixed for the marriage. On that day some quantity of rice is presented to the father of the bride apparently as bride-price. However, the bridegroom does not go himself to the house of the bride. His friends go there and return with her along with her maids. After a night of feasting and merrymaking at the

<sup>24</sup> *The Jātakas* (PTS, London, 1936), Vol. V, No. 531, pp. 284-85; trans. E. Cowell (PTS, 1957), pp. 146-47.

<sup>25</sup> Ed. R. G. Basak, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1965, pp. 594-98.

house of the bridegroom, the bride's maids are dismissed with a present of three measures of husked rice and three of unhusked rice. This is how the marriage is fully solemnized.<sup>26</sup> This type of marriage is based essentially on mutual consent of the parties concerned. The father of the bride comes into the picture later ; but from the point of view of the relatives of the bride, it is a marriage *in absentia* and through proxy, wherein the friends of the bridegroom act as his representatives.

From what has been stated above, it will be evident that the *prātibha* form stood for real marriage whereas marriages with trees, swords, etc., mentioned in some late legal digests and Purāṇas and prevalent even today in different parts of India are only symbolic.<sup>27</sup>

As to the *ghātana* form of marriage, it has been distinguished in the *Skanda Purāṇa* from the *rākṣasa* which, as is well known, involves the application of force, and by implication also slaughter, for the acquisition of the bride.<sup>28</sup> It may be that, in *ghātana*, the *rākṣasa* form involving murder of the relatives of the bride has been given the status of an independent form of marriage.

There seems to be another possibility. The *Skanda Purāṇa*,

26 *Statistical Accounts of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, p. 247.

27 See Gopinātha Dīkṣita's *Saṁskāraratnamālā* (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, Trivandrum, 1899), Vol. I, pp. 594-98 (*vivāhaḥ : mṛtapatnikasya dvitīy-ādiṣu vivāheṣu viśeṣaḥ* and *arkavivāha-prayoga* Sections); *ṛṣṭiyam = arkavivāham kṛtv = aiva caturth-ādiṣu mānuṣi-vivāhaḥ kāryaḥ ; caturth-ādi-vivāh-ārtham ṛṣṭīye-ṛkam samudvāhet iti Brahmapurāṇam*. Among South Indian Brāhmaṇas, when a younger brother wants to marry before his elder brother, the latter is first given in 'marriage' with a tree (*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. J. Hastings, Edinburgh, 1971, Vol. VIII, p. 452). For marriage of temple prostitutes (*devadāsī, bhāvinī*) with swords, daggers and/or masks of gods, see *ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 407.

28 Manu, III. 33 ; Yāj., I. 61 ; Nārada, XII. 43 ; Raghunandana in *Udvāhatattvam* (ed. H. N. Chatterji, Calcutta, 1963), p. 25.

Nāgara-khaṇḍa, Ch. 88, vv. 8-9, mentions the Kālayavanas<sup>29</sup> and a distinction is also made between the *Mlecchas* and *Yavanas* (*ibid.*, Ch. 121, vv. 38-39). It is likely that the *Mleccha* and the *Kālayavana* of the text were identical and allude to the Islamic hordes in Western India. At first these people were friendly with the Indian people, particularly during the rule of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.<sup>30</sup> But, nevertheless, the Arab merchants and later the Arab settlers found it difficult to procure wives for their menfolk from the indigenous society. Al-Birūnī testifies to the taboo of the Indian people on any sort of social relationship with the *Mlecchas*, i. e. the Muslim invaders.<sup>31</sup> Hence it is likely that the Muslim settlers and soldiers had to take resort to raids on villages in the course of which they carried off some women and raped them either before or after killing them. To the orthodox Indian, such girls, whether killed or not, were regarded as dead.<sup>32</sup> Hence the name *ghātana*. However, in that case, it is hardly justified to call it a form of marriage.\*

29 For other references to *Kālayavana*, see D. C. Sircar, in *JAIH*, Vol. III, pp. 141-44.

30 D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Society and Administration in Ancient and Medieval India*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1967, pp. 84ff.

31 Cf. Sachau, trans., Vol. I, pp. 19-20.

32 For a more liberal treatment of such unfortunate girls, see *Devala-smṛiti*, vv. 47-52 (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, ed. H. N. Apte, Trivandrum, 1905), p. 77.

\*[The *ghātana* marriage was prevalent among the low caste peoples. It is impossible to believe that the Muslims spared the upper castes and raped only low-caste girls.—Ed.]

## THE DATTAS OF KOSALA

NISAR AHMAD

Nearly three centuries after its subjugation by the Magadhan power,<sup>1</sup> Kosala became independent in 123 B. C. under the Devas who claim to have descended from Puṣyamitra Śuṅga; but the role of these Śuṅgas had ended before the Christian era commenced.<sup>2</sup> The history of the Dattas of this region is revealed by the coins<sup>3</sup> discovered mostly at the ancient site of Ayodhyā.<sup>4</sup> These coins are minted by the cast-technique. Their other characteristic is that they are square in shape, except one coin which has a rounded shape.

The Dattas seem to have succeeded the Devas and preceded the kings known from the die-struck pieces. Since both coined their currencies by the cast-technique, used the square shape and elephant-and-tree type and attempted to give round shape to a specimen which was the characteristic feature of die-struck coins, Allan feels that the Dattas and the Devas belonged to the same dynasty;<sup>5</sup> but this is uncorroborated.

1 Probably Śiśunāga annexed Kosala to Magadha (*The Age of Imperial Unity*, ed. Majumdar, p. 30). He started to rule from 430 B. C. (*ibid.*, p. 30). [All such dates are approximate and problematical.—Ed.]

2 N. Ahmad, 'History of Śuṅgas of Kosala', submitted to the Indian History Congress, 1971.

3 Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 93; Allan, *A Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum, Ancient India*, pp. 133ff.; Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta*, Vol. I, p. 149.

4 *BMC, AI*, p. lxxxvii.

5 Allan says that the inscribed coins of Ayodhyā 'fall into two very distinct classes, issued by two separate dynasties, one of square cast coins showing no trace of foreign influence in their style and type, and one of round struck pieces'. He further says, "The names of six rulers of this dynasty are known from their coins." They are Mūladeva, Vāyudeva, Viśākhadeva, Dhanadeva, Śivadatta and Naradatta (*op. cit.*, pp. lxxxviii-ix).

Four Datta rulers, viz. Naradatta, Jyeṣṭhadatta, Dṛdhadatta and Śivadatta, are known. Among them, Naradatta<sup>6</sup> and Jyeṣṭhadatta<sup>7</sup> depicted a standard on the obverse of their coins (which is probably the same)<sup>8</sup> and a cross-bar within railing<sup>9</sup> (that occurs on the coins of Dṛdhadatta)<sup>10</sup>; but, for the reverse, Naradatta and probably also Jyeṣṭhadatta<sup>11</sup> used the tree-in-centre type, a symbol resembling fish-hook with cross-bottom and appended arms at left, with *svastika* in between, uncertain mark at right, and a wavy line below as on the coins of Śivadeva<sup>12</sup> and Pathad[eva],<sup>13</sup> the last two rulers of the Deva dynasty.<sup>14</sup> Dṛdhadatta has merely tree-in-double-square on the reverse of his coins.<sup>15</sup> Therefore it seems that either Naradatta or Jyeṣṭhadatta was the founder of this dynasty and they were followed by Dṛdhadatta.<sup>16</sup>

Śivadatta issued coins in five types<sup>17</sup>: elephant and Gaja-

6 *BMC, AI*, p. 134, No. 36, Pl. XLIII. 6.

7 *JNSI*, Vol. VIII, Part I, p. 14.

8 N. Ahmad, 'Type of Ayodhyā Coins' (under preparation).

9 Allan calls it simply a standard (*op. cit.*, p. 135).

10 See note 8 above.

11 Altekar describes the reverse devices of his coin as 'blurred; the original shows faint traces of a tree-within-railing and some other symbols too indistinct to be made out' (*JNSI*, Vol. VIII, p. 14). It seems to me that the reverse type of Jyeṣṭhadatta is the same as that of Naradatta.

12 Allan does not describe this coin, but only illustrates it (*op. cit.*, Pl. XVII. 9).

13 *Ibid.*, p. 135, Nos. 37-38, Pl. XLIII. 7.

14 See note 2 above.

15 On his coin, Allan reads...*davasa* (*op. cit.*, p. 135). The second latter seems to be *ta* and not *va*. The undeciphered letters appear to be two and they are *da* and *ḍha*. Thus the legend on his coin may be restored as *Dṛḍhadatasa*.

16 Allan, *op. cit.*, p. 135, No. 39, Pl. XLIII. 8.

17 See note 8 above.



lakṣmī,<sup>18</sup> elephant and *yva*-like symbol,<sup>19</sup> elephant and Ujjain symbol,<sup>20</sup> bull and *yva*-like symbol<sup>21</sup> and elephant and peculiar symbol.<sup>22</sup> These coin-types exhibit certain innovations and the form of the last type is round.<sup>23</sup> Since the round shape was the characteristic of the die-struck coin-series of this place,<sup>24</sup> Śivadatta appears to have been the last ruler.<sup>25</sup>

18 Allan, *op. cit.*, p. 133, No. 28, Pl. XLIII. 5.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 134, Nos. 30-31, 35, Pl. XVII. 3, 6 : Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 149, Nos. 8-11.

20 *CAI*, p. 93, No. LX. 11 ; *BMC, AI*, p. 134, No. 32, Pl. XVII. 4.

21 *BMC, AI*, p. 134, Nos. 33-34, Pl. XVII. 5.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 133, No. 29, Pl. XVII. 7.

23 Allan (*BMC, AI*, p. 133, No. 29) calls the coin of this type square and clipped ; but the illustration (Pl. XVII. 7) shows it to be rounded.

24 *BMC, AI*, p. lxxxix.

25 C. C. Dasgupta writes : "The coins of Śivadatta may be given an earlier date on the following grounds : On the obverse of the coins of Śivadatta there is moving elephant and this is to be found on the obverse of the coins of Mūladeva, Vāyudeva and on some coins of Dhanadeva. The elephant is conspicuous by its absence on the obverse of all coins of Viśākhadeva, Kumudasena, Mādhavarinā, Ajavarmā and the Mitra kings, a humped bull occupying the place instead. Thus the coins of Dhanadeva form a landmark in the history of these coins, because on the obverse of some of his coins we have the elephant moving and on some others the humped bull. Perhaps for some cause not known, Dhanadeva changed the obverse device and used the humped bull in place of the elephant." He further says that the coins of Dhanadeva and Viśākhadeva have legends in Aśokan Brāhmī and belong to the third century B.C. See *IHQ*, Vol. VIII, pp. 551-52. This shows that Śivadatta, placed before Mūladeva, Vāyudeva, Dhanadeva and Viśākhadeva, flourished in the earlier decades of the 3rd century B.C. Thus we have to say that Aśoka had no control over Kosala. Again Naradatta and Jyesthadatta depict a bull on the obverse of their coins. According to Dasgupta's way of thinking, they have to be placed after Dhanadeva. Is it possible that they were separated from Śivadatta by a century ? Further, Śivadatta not only uses elephant, but also depicts a bull on the obverse of his coins. It may be noted that the animal represented on the obverse of the coins of Mūladeva is a bull (*BMC, AI*, p. 130, Nos. 8-10) and not an elephant as it was supposed by Cunningham (*CAI*, p. 91).

Jagannāth Agrawal holds that these Daṭṭa rulers did not belong to Ayodhyā, but should probably be assigned to Mathurā.<sup>26</sup> This belief is against numismatic evidence because typologically their coins are connected with the coins of the Devas. Further, the fact that half of the rulers of Maṭhūrā had *datta*-ending names is not enough to attribute the coins to Mathurā, because the Dattas of Mathurā depict 'standing Lakṣmī surrounded by some characteristic symbols'<sup>27</sup> and those are absent on the coins of these Dattas of Kosala.

It can also be suggested that the Dattas ousted the Devas about the end of the first century B. C.<sup>28</sup> and their rule continued possibly upto the close of the first half of the first century A. D.

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26 *A Comprehensive History of India*, ed. Sastri, p. 105.

27 *BMC, AI*, pp. 170ff. ; *Local Coins*, pp. 41ff.

28 Seven kings of the Deva dynasty, namely Mūladeva, Vāyudeva, Viśākhadeva, Phalgudeva, Dhanadeva, Pathad[eva] and Śivadeva are known. As the Devas, in our opinion, started their political careers in 123 B. C., their rule could not have lasted beyond the close of the first century B. C.

## AN EMACIATED FIGURE FROM LĀÑJĪ

RAMESH KUMAR BILLOREY

The sculptures carved on the outer wall of the Śiva temple at Lāñjī,<sup>1</sup> a village near Gondia in the Balaghat District, M. P., include a few emaciated figures. One of these, illustrated here, is shown in dancing posture. The two-armed image appears to carry a *khaṭvāṅga* in the left hand, partly mutilated, while the right hand is in the *abhaya-mudrā*. It is adorned with snakes as necklace and armlets. A small figure beside the right leg appears to be that of a devotee.

The figure probably represents Bhairava. Two other similar figures from the same temple also appear to represent the same deity. The emaciated figure of Bhairava is not unknown in Indian art. An image from Bhairamgarh in Bastar, M. P., resembles closely the figure under discussion, particularly in its dancing posture. Another sculpture from the Dantewara region, near Jagdalpur, in Bastar, has also the same posture.<sup>2</sup> Among other representations mention may be made of a fine Ardhanārīśvara panel to be found in the rock cut temple (Cave No. 1) at Badami. Here, to the left of the central image, is a female attendant while on its right is the bull of Śiva. Behind the bull is a human figure with an emaciated body which, according to Gopinatha Rao, may be representing either

1 The temple belongs to the late medieval period. Human sacrifices are said to have been offered at the temple in earlier times. See *Balaghat District Gazetteer*, Allahabad, 1907, pp. 66-67.

2 I am indebted to Sm. Mira Mukherjee, who showed me the photographs of the Bhairamgarh and Dantewara images, and to Sri N. Sengupta who drew my attention to the Konarak image of Naukā Bhairava in dancing pose.

Bhairava or Rṣi Bhṛṅgin.<sup>3</sup> Another emaciated figure representing the Atiriktāṅga aspect of Bhairava is found in the Rāmeśvara cave temple at Elura. Seated near his feet is the emaciated figure of Kālī; round him are a number of blood-thirsty goblins.<sup>4</sup> A similar sculpture is found in the Pradakṣiṇā of the Brāhmanical shrine known as Rāvaṇ kā Khāi at Elura.<sup>5</sup> An interesting example of the Atiriktāṅga variety of Saṃhāra Bhairava is also found on a Western Cālukya bronze bell.<sup>6</sup>

It may be added that the image in question, unlike the other representations of Bhairava referred to above, has no ghastly look. Its face is shown in a calm and contemplative mood, thus emphasising the innate pacific character of this terrific form of the god Śiva.<sup>7</sup>

3 Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, 2nd ed., Vol. II, Pt. I, pp. 327-28, Pl. XCIV.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 181, Pl. XLIII.

5 Fergusson and Burgess, *The Cave Temples of India*, Delhi, 1969, p. 434, Pl. LXXII.

6 *Lalit Kala*, No. 10, October, 1961, pp. 29-30, Pl. XVIII, Fig. 10.

7 I am grateful to my elder brother, Sri M. S. Billorey who was kind enough to accompany me to the Lāñjī temple and take photographs of the images there.

## INDOLOGICAL NOTES

D. C. SIRCAR

### 12. *Derivation of the Clan or Family Name 'Maurya'*

There is little doubt that the same name is found in Sanskrit literature as *Maurya* and in Pali works as *Moriya*. It is of course difficult to say whether the form *Moriya* is derived from *Maurya*, or *Maurya* is Sanskritised from *Moriya*. It may be pointed out that *Maurya* occurs for the first time in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*<sup>1</sup> which was composed in the age of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga (c. 187-149 B.C.), though it contains later interpolations,<sup>2</sup> while *Moriya* occurs in the Buddhist canonical work *Dīghanikāya*.<sup>3</sup> The Moriyas are stated to have been Khattiyas living in the region called Pipphalivana near the Himalayas in the age of the Buddha (c. 545-486 B. C.). The *Dīpavaṃsa* (VI. 19) and *Mahāvamsa* (V. 16) represent Candagutta, grandfather of Asoka and the conqueror of the Nanda empire, as a scion of the Moriya clan. Among these, the *Dīghanikāya* reference may possibly be assigned to a date about the third or second century B. C.<sup>4</sup> so that it may be somewhat earlier than the *Mahābhāṣya* reference.

It has to be noted that, while the early authorities invariably mention *Maurya* (usually in the plural number) to indicate a clan, late writers explain the name as meaning 'the son of Murā'. We have seen above how the early Buddhist literature speaks the Moriyas as a Khattiya clan of Pipphalivana.

1 On Pāṇini's *Aṣṭadhyāyī*, V. 3. 99.

2 *IHQ*, Vol. XV, pp. 633ff.

3 PTS, Vol. II, p. 166 ; cf. *Buddhavaṃsa* (PTS), XXVIII. 4.

4 For the date of the Buddhist Canon, see Winternitz, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, Vol. II, pp. 17-18.

vana. The *Mahābhāṣya* says, under the *sūtra*—*Jivik-ārthe c=āpaṇye*, as follows : *Mauryair=hirany-ārthibhir=arcāḥ prakalpītāḥ ; bhavet tāsu na syāt ; yās=tv=etāḥ samprati-pūj-ārthās=tāsu bhaviṣyati*. It says that the Mauryas, who were greedy of gold or wealth, manufactured the images of Śiva, Skanda, Viśākha, etc., for sale, and that such images would be called Śivaka, etc., though the images to be set up for immediate worship would not be so called. The Junagarh inscription (150 A. D.) of Rudradāman mentions both Candragupta and Aśoka particularly as *Maurya*, the implication being that they belonged to the Maurya clan.<sup>5</sup> Likewise the historical section of the Purānas uses the name in the plural to indicate a clan or dynasty.<sup>6</sup>

A late commentator of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* explains the epithet *Maurya* applied to Candragupta as follows : *Candraguptam Nandasy=aiva patny-antarasya \*Murā-saṁjñasya putram Mauryānām prathamam*.<sup>7</sup> This suggests that the dynasty founded by Candragupta was called Maurya because he was born of Murā who was one of the wives of king Nanda. The above interpretation of *Maurya* is supported by some grammarians in the following way : *Murāyāḥ apatyam pumān iti Murā+nya=Maurya* by the rule *Kurv-ādibhyo nyaḥ*, because *Kurv-ādī* includes *Mura* and therefore the feminine form *Murā* is also implied.<sup>8</sup> Some writers, however, think that *Maurya* really means 'the son of Mura (male)' while 'the son of Murā' should properly be *Maureya*.<sup>9</sup> But, even if the formation of *Maurya* in the sense of 'the son of Murā' is accepted as grammatically possible, there is definite evidence to show that the said interpretation is wrong, because

5 Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, 1965, p. 177.

6 Pargiter, *Purāṇa Text*, pp. 26ff. See Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 1938, pp. 236-37.

7 Wilson, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, trans., Calcutta reprint, p. 375, note.

8 Cf. *Mudrārākṣasa*, ed. S. Ray, p. 23.

9 See, e. g., R. K. Mookerji, in *The Age of Imperial Unity*, ed. Majumdar, p. 55.

the *Mudrārākṣasa* by Viśākhadatta, which may be assigned to the sixth century A.D.<sup>10</sup> and is certainly many centuries earlier than the medieval commentary on the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* quoted above, mentions Candragupta not only as *Maurya*,<sup>11</sup> but also as *Maurya-putra*<sup>12</sup> which is usually understood in the sense of 'the son of a man named Maurya'. Of course *Maurya-putra* cannot mean that the name of Candragupta's father was Maurya, because, in that case, he could not have been also called *Maurya* in the above work and he and his grandson would not have been called *Maurya* in a much earlier epigraphic record, viz. the Junagarh inscription of the middle of the second century A. D. There is, thus, little doubt that *Maurya-putra* here really means 'a scion of the Maurya clan' as in the cases of *Śibi-putta*, *Bhoja-putta*, *Videha-puta*, etc., of Pāli literature, *Kosala-putra*, *Guhila-putra*, *Balika-putra* (the Ballas of Surāṣṭra), etc., mentioned in Tod's *Annals*, and *Sāṭiya-putra* and *Kerala-putra* (Kerobothra) found in the Edicts of Aśoka.<sup>13</sup> Note that, in a large number of cases, the word *putra* occurring in inscriptions has been interpreted as the scion of a particular clan, e.g. *Kamagulya-putra*, 'the Kamagulya scion'.<sup>14</sup>

The *Mudrārākṣasa*, II. 8, suggests that Candragupta was brought up by the Nanda king and also that he was the latter's *ātmaja* (son). The same verse also suggests that Candragupta was responsible for the destruction of the said Nanda and the latter's family. The same work (III. 3) again suggests that the Nanda king was Candragupta's *guru* (probably,

10 Sircar, *Ancient Malwa and the Vikramāditya Tradition*, pp. 137-38; also De in *Hist. Sans. Lit*, ed. Dasgupta, p. 263, note 1.

11 II. 7; IV. 11, 15; V. 19.

12 II. 6.

13 See *PTS Pali-Eng. Dict.* for the pleonastic use of *putta*; also Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, 1965, p. 17, note, wherein *Keralaputra*, e.g., means 'the Kerala king' just as Yavana means 'the Yavana king' in *arunad*=*Yavanah Sāketam*. Cf. Bhaṭṭaputra in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 325, 327; Bengali *Dāser po* (Dās, scion of Dās family), etc.

14 See *CII*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 170; see also pp. 51-52, 57, 65, 66, etc.

'father' in this case) and further (V. 19) that Candragupta was the *svāmi-putra* (master's son) of the Nanda king's minister. Elsewhere in the work,<sup>15</sup> Candragupta is called *Nand-ānvaya* (descended from Nanda), and Nanda's minister is stated to have been *pitṛ-paryāy-āgata* which is often interpreted as 'connected [with Candragupta] by ancestral succession'. It is again said that Nanda's family was Candragupta's *pitṛ-kula-bhūta*,<sup>16</sup> i. e. as good as his paternal family. Candragupta is represented<sup>17</sup> as *kula-hīna* (not of a high family) and a *vr̥ṣala*,<sup>18</sup> i. e. a Śūdra or outcaste, while Nanda is stated to have belonged to a highly respectable family.<sup>19</sup> These facts are not quite clear, and we are also not prepared to accept all the statements in such dramatic works as genuine historical facts. However, they are enough to prove the unwarranted nature of the much later tradition about Candragupta being born of a woman named Murā described as a Śūdrā in Dhundirāja's commentary (1713 A.D.) on the *Mudrārākṣasa*.

The *Dīpavaṁśa-Mahāvaṁśa* tradition, which is earlier and more reliable, represents Candagutta as a scion of the clan of the Moriyas who were apparently sub-Himalayan Mongoloids claiming the status of the Kṣatriya like the Licchavis and others, but must have been regarded as *Vṛṣalatva-gata*, i. e. as Śūdra, by the orthodox leaders of society.<sup>20</sup> If the tradition associating Candragupta with the Nanda king is to be accepted, we may probably suggest that he was born of a Moriya girl in the harem of the Nanda monarch and that he was called

15 Act IV, between verses 7 and 8; S. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 305.

16 Act IV; S. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

17 II. 7.

18 II. 11 and intro. to verse 16; III. 11, intro. to verses 16, 18, 29; VI. 6; etc. See S. Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 168, 224, 230, etc.

19 VI. 6.

20 Cf. Manu, X. 42-43. See Sircar, *Stud. Soc. Adm. Anc. Med. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 49, 102, etc.



a Moriya after his mother's clan owing to his illegitimate birth. Justin (XV. iv) speaks of his humble (i.e. non-royal) origin.

It is tempting to connect the Pali name *Moriya* with the Pali word *mora* which is the same as Sanskrit *mayūra* or 'a peacock', and an echo of such thinking is possibly traceable in the *Sthavirāvalīcaritra* or *Parīṣiṣṭaparyan* of the Jain polymath Hemacandra (1089-1172 A. D.) mentioning Candragupta as related to a family of *Mayūrapoṣakas* or peacock-keepers.<sup>21</sup> It is, however, interesting to note in this connection that the commentary on the *Mahāvāṃsa* exhibits the uncertainty in the mind of medieval writers about the meaning of the name *Moriya* by offering two alternative interpretations. It says that *Moriya* is either a mistake for *Modiya* meaning 'rejoicing [in the prosperity in their own city]' or is derived from the word *mora*, 'a peacock'.<sup>22</sup> Thus even medieval students of Pali literature were not sure about the derivation of *Moriya* from *mora*.

It is possible therefore that Pali *Moriya* is derived from Sanskrit *Maurya* which was the name of a clan, though its derivative meaning was not well known. If, however, it is believed that *Moriya* is really derived from *mora*, one may be inclined to suggest that *Maurya* is re-Sanskritised from Pali *Moriya* without taking note of its association with *mora* meaning 'a peacock'. We have some instances of this kind of re-Sanskritisation in medieval Indian records. Thus the Sanskrit name *Kṛṣṇa* is often modified in South India as *Kandara*, *Kandāra*, *Kandhara*, *Kandhāra*, *Kanhara*, *Kanhāra*,

21 See Canto VIII, verses 229 ff. Candragupta is said to have been born of a daughter of the *Mahattara* (council-member or headman) of the *Mayūrapoṣakas* who were keepers of king Nanda's peacocks. Candragupta would then appear to be a *putrikā-putra* (i.e. daughter's son adopted as one's own son) of the *Mayūrapoṣaka-mahattara*.

22 See Malalasekera, *DPPN*, s.v. *Moriya*.

*Kannara* and *Kannāra*, and sometimes found in joint forms like *Kṛṣṇa-Kandhara* and *Kṛṣṇa-Kāndhāra*, while *Kannara*, one of the modified forms of the name, was sometimes re-Sanskritised in the Kannada area as *Karṇa*.<sup>23</sup> Likewise, the name of the village of Jayavana in Kashmir, mentioned in Kalhana's *Rājataranginī*,<sup>24</sup> was pronounced as *Jevan* or *Zevan* and has therefore been re-Sanskritised in a late work as *Jīvana*.<sup>25</sup> From Bengali also we may cite *Kṛṣṇa=Kiṣṭa=Kṛṣṭa*.

It must, however, be remembered that, for such re-Sanskritisation, people required a fairly long time for forgetting the correct derivation of a modified form ; but this considerable time lag is absent in the case of *Moriya=Maurya*. We therefore prefer the first of the two alternative suggestions made above, namely, that Pali *Moriya* and Sanskrit *Maurya* are different forms of the same name which had probably nothing to do with Pali *mora* (Sanskrit *mayūra*), 'a peacock'.

13. *Ptolemy's Notes on Some Localities in 'India within the Ganges'*

The *Geography* of the Greek author Ptolemy, composed about the middle of the second century A. D., often quotes bare lists of localities, mostly cities situated in particular territories, together with their latitudes and longitudes calculated according to his own scheme. In particular cases only, we have a little additional information in respect of an entry in such lists. These bits of information are generally very interesting, though in a few cases, their real significance is not easy to determine.

Modoura is called *ton Thēon*, 'the city of the gods' (VII.

23 See Sircar, *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, 1971, p. 309. and references cited there.

24 I. 220 ; VII. 607, etc.

25 Stein, *Kalhana's Rājataranginī*, Vol. II, p. 384.

1.50). This seems to recognise Mathurā near Agra as a city of many temples. No other place has been so described in Ptolemy's account of 'India within the Ganges', i.e. the part of India lying to the west of the river Ganges.

Another unique information is supplied by the second name of Mt. Apakopa (i.e. the Aravali range) given as *Poinai Thēon*, i. e. 'the punishment of the gods' (VII. 1.19). This suggests an Indian name like *Devanigraha* which is, however, unknown from any Indian source. The real significance of the name is difficult to determine ; but there may have been a local legend in justification of the name. A locality in Maisolia (the Masulipatam region of the Krishna District, Andhra Pradesh) is likewise mentioned as the point of departure (*aphēterion*) for ships bound for Khryse Khersonesus literally 'Golden Peninsula' (VII. 1.15) which has been identified by scholars with the Suvarṇa-dvīpa or Suvarṇa-bhūmi of Indian literature, i. e. the land beyond the Bay of Bengal. This seems to suggest that the ships bound for the eastern countries moved from the harbour in question across the high seas and not by the route along the coast.<sup>1</sup> It may be mentioned here that Khryse Khersonesus is elsewhere mentioned in VII. 2.5, 12 and 25, while VII. 2.17 mentions Khryse Khora, 'Golden Land', and it is possible that the first is Suvarṇa-dvīpa and the second Suvarṇa-bhūmi, although Indian sources do not appear to make any difference between the two names.

Equally interesting is the entry of 'Sagala otherwise called Euthymedia' (VII. 46). Scholars have suggested that *Euthymedia* is a mistake for *Euthydemia* so that the city of Sākala (modern Sialkot in Pakistan) may have been renamed after the

1 Sailing on the high seas is indicated by Indian epigraphic and literary records of pre-Christian times (cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 208. note 6) ; cf. also Rājendracola's conquest of Mā-Nakkavāram (Great Nicobar, i.e. the Nicobar Island), which is far away from the coast. Cf. Sewell, *Hist. Ins. S. Ind.*, p. 66.

Greek king Euthydemus of Bactria after its conquest by his son Demetrius in the early years of the second century B. C. Another entry of the same type is—'Nagara or Dionysopolis' (VII. 1.43) which suggests that Nagara was renamed by some Greek king after the Greek god Dionysus. It is tempting to identify Nagara with Nagarahāra, modern Jalalabad, though it may really be identical with Nysa in the Kohimor valley, a city state of the Greek type said to have been founded by Dionysus.<sup>2</sup> A third entry of the kind is—'Cape Kory (in the present Rameswaram Island in Tamilnadu) also called Kalligikon' (VII. 1.11).

Commercial interest attaches to some entries. Thus Kosa, probably lying to the south of the Narmadā in the Upper Deccan, is described as a place where there are diamonds (VII. 1.65), while Pounnata (Punnāḍu in South Mysore) is called the place where there is beryl (VII. 1.86). It is interesting to note in this connection that the country of Sabarai (Śavara), lying 'towards the Ganges river', is described as a territory in which diamond is found in great abundance (VII. 1.80). If, by this, the diamond mines of Panna are meant, the location is inaccurate. A number of places is called an *emporion* (mart, emporium), while Barygaza (Bhṛgukaccha or Broach near the mouth of the Narmadā in Gujarat) is called both a city and an emporium (VII. 1. 62) and Semya (modern Chaul to the south of Bombay), both an emporium and a cape (VII. 1.6), while Kanthi in Syrastrène (Surāṣṭra or Kathiawar in Gujarat) was a roadstead and harbour (*naustathmos ormos*).

A large number of entries are places mentioned as *polis*, i.e. city or town (e.g. VII. 1.43 ff.), while a few are called *khome* or village (VII. 1. 3-4). In some cases, the places are called a *metropolis*, i.e. chief city or capital of a territory; e.g. (1) Kottiarā in the country of the Aioi, i.e. the district in which

2. Cf. Smith, *Classical Dictionary*, s.v. *Nysa*, *Nyssa*

cape Comorin was situated (VII. 1.9) ; (2) Nikama in the coastal area of the country of the Batoi in the neighbourhood of the Aioi territory (VII. 1.12 ; cf. VII. 1.90) ; (3) Erarasa or Eragassa in the land wherein Mathurā near Agra was situated (VII. 1.50) ; (4) Sageda in the country of the Adeisathroi (people living near the Sahyādri or Upper Western Ghats) extending as far as Mt. Ouxeton or Rkṣavat, i. e. the Central Vindhyas (VII. 1.71) ; (5) Mousapallē an inland city in the land (called apparently Ariake or Aparānta) of the Pirates in the present Bombay region (VII. 1.85) lying to the south of Ariake (Aparānta) of the Sadenoi or Śātavāhanas (VII. 1.6) ; and (6) Pityndra or Pītoura an inland city of the Maisoloi, i. e. the people living in the district around the mouths of the Kṛṣṇā (VII. 1.93). The historical value of the description of some of these cities as metropolis cannot be determined at the present state of our knowledge. Pityndra seems to be the same as Pīthūmḍa (Sanskrit *Prithūda*) mentioned in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela.<sup>3</sup> Sageda reminds us of the famous Sāketa in the vicinity of Ayodhyā in the Faizabad District of U. P. It is not impossible that Ptolemy's location of the city is wrong.

In a few cases, a city is called the royal seat, residence or city (*basileion*) without mentioning the name of the king ; e. g. Palibothra or Palimbothra (Pātaliputra near modern Patnā in Bihar) on the Ganges (VII. 1.73) and Gange (i. e. Gaṅgā, probably the same as Gaṅgāsāgara at the mouth of the Ganges) in the country of the Gangaridai (i. e. the Vaṅga people)<sup>4</sup> occupying the land around the mouths of the Ganges (VII. 1.81). Reference may be made in this context to Bactra in the Bactriane (Bactria) country, i. e. modern Balkh in Northern

3 Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, 1965, p. 217, text line 11.

4 See Sircar, *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, 2nd ed., pp. 213 ff.

Afghanistan, likewise described as the king's residence (VI. 2.9).

The representation of Pāṭaliputra and Gaṅgā (Gaṅgāsāgara) as capital cities in Ptolemy's work of the middle of the second century A. D. is quite interesting. Gaṅgā is mentioned apparently as the capital of the Gangaridai or Vaṅga people who occupied the same region watered by the mouths or the Ganges at least down to the days of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa* (IV. 36 ; cf. Mallinātha's commentary) composed in the fourth or fifth century A. D., i.e. during the age of the Imperial Guptas. It is difficult to say whether, when Kālidāsa wrote, the country of the Gangaridai or Vaṅga people had already been annexed to the Gupta empire and lost its existence as an independent kingdom. Pāṭaliputra was probably the head-quarters of the territory of the Murundas whom Jain literature represents as rulers of the said city.<sup>5</sup> Ptolemy (VII. 2.14), places the Maroundai, whose territory extended upto the land of the Gangaridai, in 'India beyond the Ganges', i.e. the part of India lying to the east of the Ganges. It is thus difficult to say whether Ptolemy's Maroundai are the Murundas or the Pundras of North Bengal. One may think that Ptolemy made a confusion between the Murundas of the Pāṭnā and adjoining regions of Bihar with the Pundras living farther east. In this context, it may also be pointed out that, during the middle of the second century A. D. when Ptolemy's *Geography* was composed, Bactria appears to have been an integral part of the vast Kuṣāṇa empire and was probably not an independent kingdom.

In a number of cases, Ptolemy mentions a city as the *basileion* or capital of a particular king ; e. g., (1) Ozéné (Ujjayinī) the capital of Tiastanes, i.e. the Kārdamaka-Śaka ruler Caṣṭana (VII. 1.63) ; (2) Sora (Śavara) the capital of Arkatos of the Sorai clan, i.e. Śavara or Kudiya of the South

5 Cf. Sircar, *Some Problems of Kuṣāṇa and Rājapūṭ History*, p. 63.

Kanara District of Mysore (VII. 1.68); (3) Baithana (Pratiṣṭhāna, modern Paithan in the Aurangabad District of Maharashtra) the capital of Siroptolemaios, i.e. śrī-Puṣumāvi of the Śātavāhana dynasty (VII. 1.82); (4) Hippokoura (in the Kolhapur region of Maharashtra) the capital of Baleokouros, i.e. Viṣivāyakura of coins (VII. 1.83); (5) Karoura (Karur in the Coimbatore District, Tamilnadu) the capital of Kerobothros, i.e. Keralaputra, or the king of the Kerala people (VII. 1.86); (6) Modoura (Mathurā or Dakṣiṇa-Mathurā, i.e. modern Madurai in Tamilnadu) the capital of Pandion, i.e. the Pāṇḍya king (VII. 1.89); (7) Orthoura (Uragapura or Uraiyur near Tiruchirappalli, Tamilnadu) the capital of Sornagos or Sornax (Coḷa-nāyaka); and (8) Malanga (in the land of the Arouarnoi apparently living in Aruvā-nāḍu or the Kāñcīpuram region not far from Madras) the capital of Basaronagos or Basaronax.

Sometimes the localities are placed not merely in particular territories, but in the countries occupied by particular tribes. Thus the city of Brakhme is located at the foot of Mt. Bettigo (i.e. the Malaya range including the Travancore hills) in the land of the Brakhmanai Magoi, i.e. the Maga-Brāhmaṇas (VII. 1.74). The Maga-Brāhmaṇas, i.e. members of the Iranian priestly community settled in India and known also as Ācārya-Brāhmaṇas or Grahavipras, are found in Northern India; but their appearance in so far to the south in the second century A.D. is an exceptionally interesting information. Likewise, Tathilba is placed at the foot of Mt. Adeisathron (Sahyādri or the Upper Western Ghats) in the country of the Baimaioi (VII. 1.75) and Sibrion and other cities at the foot of Mt. Ouxentos (Rkṣavat, i.e. part of the Vindhya to the south of Malwa) in the country of the Drilophyllitai (VII. 1.76). The location of the northern tribe of the Ambastai (Ambaṣṭha) 'along the country of the Bettigoi and the mountain range' (VII. 1. 66) is also interesting.

## TWO BRONZE FIGURINES FROM NEPAL

SM. J. MAITRA

I am indebted to Prof. D. C. Sircar for allowing me to examine the two bronze figurines which he bought, as I was told, from a dealer at Kathmandu in November, 1970.

The first figure is that of a god embracing a goddess and is about 4.75" high. Though coarse in execution, it is interesting from the iconographic point of view. The god presents a terrible appearance with three fierce eyes, distorted face and canine teeth. His left leg rests on a lotus pedestal (*padma-piṭha*) and the right leg is raised in a menacing dance pose. The hairs on his head raise upwards like flames. He wears a head-dress made of skulls. The god is four-armed, in his upper right hand, he wields a *khaṭvāṅga* surmounted by a trident (*triśūla*) and in the lower right, a skull-cup (*kapāla*). In the upper and lower left hands of the god are shown *damaru* and *kartṭikā* respectively. The goddess's legs are locked around the god's waist and both her hands are extended at the back of the god. A *kartṭikā* is held in her right hand and *pātra* in the left, while her face is raised towards that of the god.

In the *Sādhana-mālā*,<sup>1</sup> we find a description of the god Heruka which seems to suit the present image. The *sādhana* in question says that, when Heruka is embraced by Citrasenā, he gets the name Buddhakapāla. According to the *dhyāna*, "the worshipper should think himself as Buddhakapāla who is a great hero, the supreme destroyer, of blue complexion and gigantic stature. He has ornaments of bones, stands in *ardha-paryāṅka* in a dancing attitude, is decked in garlands of heads,

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1 Ed. B. Bhattacharya, pp. 501-02; also *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, ed. B. Bhattacharya, pp. 23, 30.



bears the effigy of Akṣobhya on the crown, and is one-faced and four-armed. He carries the *khaṭvāṅga* and *kapāla* in the left hands and the *kartī* and *ḍamaru* in the right and is embraced in the left by the *prajñā*, Citrasenā by name, who is intoxicated, nude and fearless.<sup>2</sup>

The attributes in the hands of the goddess in the image under discussion are not mentioned in the *dhyāna* cited above; but the description of the goddess in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* referred to above, suits the present image. The same *sādhana* later on gives the details of the *maṇḍala* and says that Buddhakapāla is surrounded by twentyfour goddesses arranged in three circles. Excepting the four deities of the innermost circle, all the goddesses have blue colour, two arms, a single face; ornaments of bones and brown hair rising upwards. They carry the *kapāla* in the left and the *kartī* in the right, and dance in the *ardha-paryāṅka* attitude.

The image, therefore, may be identified with Buddhakapāla, who represents a form of Heruka, the emanation of Akṣobhya of the Vajrayāna pantheon. The images of Buddhakapāla are rare. The one preserved in the Baroda Museum represents Buddhakapāla without his Śakti.<sup>3</sup> He is also represented in the Chinese collection at Peiping.<sup>3</sup>

The second image is that of a goddess standing on a lotus pedestal and is about 4" high. Her right foot is bent forward and the left stretched back in a graceful posture with her left hand raised and the right lowered. She is holding a *pātra* in her left hand and a *kartīkā* in the right. She has well-formed breasts and a youthful appearance. She wears no crown. Her hairs are tied in a top knot, with some falling on her back. She is nude, wears an elaborate girdle and is richly decked in various ornaments. She wears a garland of skulls. The god-

2 B. Bhattacharya, *Ind. Buddh. Icon.*, p. 266, Fig. 127.

3 Gordon, *Two Lamaistic Pantheons*, pp. 103, 237.

dess bears no effigy in her crown as is generally found in the images of gods and goddesses of the Buddhist pantheon. Thus no Buddhist feature is apparent in this image.

However, it reminds us of one aspect of the Buddhist goddess Vajrayoginī<sup>4</sup>. The usual form of this goddess resembles Chinnamastā, one of the 10 Mahāvidyās of the Hindus. The Dākinīs accompanying the two goddesses are identical in appearance and hold *kartī* and *karpara* (skull-cup) in their left and right hands respectively,<sup>5</sup> though the *dhyānas* describing Chinnamastā and Vajrayoginī do not refer to the garland of severed heads worn by the Dākinīs.

The *dhyāna* in the *Sādhnamālā* describes the yellow form of Vajrayoginī as follows : "The worshipper should conceive himself as Bhaṭṭārikā Vajrayoginī of yellow colour, who is surrounded on all sides by terrible burning grounds. She stands in the *ālīḍha* attitude and is in her prime of youth. She rides on a corpse, is nude, has three red round eyes, contorted brows and protruding tongue. She carries the *kapāla* in her left hand and the *kartī* in the right. She is decked in several ornaments and a *hāra* made of skulls." Another *sādhana* adds the information that the *kapāla* should be filled with the blood of the gods and demons, and the hand carrying the *kartī* may show *tarjanī* also.

The image under discussion resembles the goddess described above though it lacks the third eye and the corpse. Images of this variety of Vajrayoginī are rare.

4 *Sādhnamālā*, ed. B. Bhattacharya, p. 456.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 452-53, 455.

## GHATIKĀ

S. SANKARANARAYANAN

The word *ghatikā* is used in literature in more than one sense, e.g. 'a small jar', 'a particular unit of time', etc. ; but a peculiar sense is attributed to it sometimes in inscriptions.

In the Chikkulla plates of Vikramendravarman,<sup>1</sup> the king's father is described as *yathā-vidhi-viniryāpita-ghatik-āvāpta-puṇya-saṁcaya*. While editing that record Kielhorn took *ghatikā* in the sense of 'a water jar' and conjectured that the preceding word *viniryāpita* might mean 'emptying'. Thus the passage was translated as 'one who acquired a store of merit by emptying water-jars [at donations made] according to precepts'.<sup>2</sup> In the Kasakkudi plates of Nandivarman, the word is met with twice,<sup>3</sup> and Hultsch, the editor of that charter, followed Kielhorn in interpreting *ghatikā*.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, as in one instance the said meaning does not suit the context, Hultsch suggested a correction of *sva-ghatikām* to *sva-vaśagām*.<sup>5</sup>

However, Kielhorn later realised that the word denotes an establishment of holy and learned men probably founded by a king, such as a *brahmapurī*, often mentioned in the epigraphs.<sup>6</sup> Accepting this meaning of the word, scholars have gone to the extent of correcting *viniryāpita* of the passage quoted above to *viniryātita*, 'donated'.<sup>7</sup>

1 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 193 ff.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 198 and note.

3 *SII*, Vol. II, p. 349, verses 23, 25.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 357, note.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 349, note.

6 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 26, 36.

7 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 9.

In this connection, one may be permitted to draw attention to the following points.

(1) Kadamba Mayūraśarman is said to have gone to the *ghaṭikā* in the city of the Pallava lords to study the whole of the sacred lore.<sup>8</sup>

(2) The Pallava king Śkandaśiṣya is credited with the seizure of a *ghaṭikā* of the Brāhmaṇas from king Satyasena.<sup>9</sup>

(3) Pallava Narasiṃhavarman is described as having organised afresh a *ghaṭikā* of the Brāhmaṇas,<sup>10</sup> and to have strengthened, out of his devotion to them, his own *ghaṭikā* so that the four Vedas may flourish.<sup>11</sup>

(4) At the instance of one Uttanka, somebody is said to have established a *ghaṭikā* for teaching the Sāmaveda.<sup>12</sup>

From these, one may conclude that *ghaṭikā* denoted an educational institution wherein knowledge of the Vedas was imparted to the Brāhmaṇas. This is further confirmed by the Nagai inscription of Cālukya Someśvara I, which clearly states that it was an educational institution for Vedas and *śāstras* that went by the name *ghaṭikā-sthāna*.<sup>13</sup> Therefore to equate *ghaṭikā* with *brahmapurī* may not be correct.

Another important fact is that a *ghaṭikā* does not seem to have been donated just as a cave (*leṇa*) was granted (*niryātita* = Skt. *niryātita*) by Uṣavadāta.<sup>14</sup> Rather, we have the statements : (1) 'from king Satyasena a *ghaṭikā* was seized by Śkandaśiṣya', (2) 'king Narasiṃhavarman developed a

8 *Ibid.*, Vol VIII, p. 32, verse 10.

9 *SII*, Vol. II, p. 508, verse 7.

10 *Ibid.*, verse 13.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 349, verse 25.

12 *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, Channarayapatna No. 178. The translation of the passage there is not satisfactory.

13 Cf. *ghaṭikā-sthānam* = *enipa sālege*, etc. (*Hyd. Arch. Series*, No. 8, pp. 15 ff., text line 176).

14 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 82.

*ghaṭikā* of his own'. These and similar statements may indicate that the *ghaṭikās*, in spite of their being educational institutions imparting Vedic knowledge to the Brāhmaṇas, were considered to be personal assets of the respective monarchs at least during the period in question.<sup>15</sup> That was perhaps the reason how Skandaśiṣya could be praised for seizing a *ghaṭikā*. On the other hand, had the *ghaṭikā* been like a *brahmapurī*, no king of ancient India would have claimed to have seized it. *Viniryāpita* may thus better be understood in its usual sense, 'supported', or 'maintained'.<sup>16</sup>

It may also be noted that the inscriptions as well as the writers of the medieval period use the expression *ghaṭikā-sthāna* to denote both the educational institutions<sup>17</sup> (i.e. *ghaṭikā c=āsau sthānam ca*) and the villages in which those institutions were located<sup>18</sup> (*ghaṭikāyāḥ sthānam*).

Why an educational institution for Vedas should be called after the pot (*ghaṭikā*) does not appear to have been explained. Fortunately, an answer to this question seems to be suggested by the *Vārttika* of Kumārilabhaṭṭa (7th century). That reputed teacher of the *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā* refers to a type of questions, which were used to be asked in what he calls the *ghaṭikā-mārga* to test the proficiency of the Vedic students: *anuyogeṣu vedānām ghaṭikā-mārga-vṛttiṣu*<sup>19</sup>

15 The *ghaṭikās* came later to be attached to temples, and the kings made donations for their maintenance. See, e.g., the *ghaṭige* (Skt. *ghaṭikā*) of a temple mentioned in an inscription of 1128 A.D. (*SII*, Vol. XX, No. 99). Yet a *ghaṭikā* itself does not appear to have been ever donated.

16 Or else, one may better correct *viniryāpita* into *vinirmāpita*, 'caused to be created'.

17 See the Nagai inscription quoted above; and *Ābhogaḥ—Kalpataru-vyākhyā* (Madras, 1955), p. 774.

18 Cf. *SII*, Vol. XX, No. 154, text line 30; and *Ābhogaḥ*, loc. cit.

19 See the *Tantravārttika* under *prayogaśāstram=iti cet* (*Pūrvamīmāṃsā*, I. 3.7. 11).

The famous commentator, Bhaṭṭa Someśvara (c. 1200 A.D.), elucidates what is meant by 'the questions asked in the *ghaṭikā-mārga*'. He says, "Different symbols denoting different portions of the Vedas were written on bits of palm-leaves or some such things (*lekhyas*). They were put into a *ghaṭikā* otherwise known as *kumbha* (i. e. a pot). When the candidates appeared for examination in the Vedas, those *lekhyas* were taken out by lot and questions were asked accordingly."<sup>20</sup>

All these may suggest that, just as the time unit called *ghaṭikā* derived its name from the vessel (*ghaṭikā*) by means of which it was measured,<sup>21</sup> *ghaṭikā* as an educational institution also derived its name from the vessel (*ghaṭikā*) by means of which the proficiency of the candidates in the Vedic examinations was tested.

If we remember that the *ghaṭikās* were Vedic schools owned by the kings and that examinations were conducted there in the said fashion obviously under the supervision of royal officers, it would be easier to explain why Kadamba Mayūraśarma, a Brāhmaṇa student in the *ghaṭikā* of Kāñci, came into conflict with a Pallava officer and felt consequently furious that, in spite of his thorough study of the Vedas, his *brahma-siddhi* or the proficiency [certificate] still depended on the kings.<sup>22</sup>

Inscriptions seem to indicate that the *ghaṭikās* were not popular in Northern India as they were in the South.<sup>23</sup> So, if

20 Cf. *veda-kauśala-jñān-ārtham tat-tad-veda-bhāga-cihna-lekhyāni ghaṭikāyām kumbh-ākhyāyām nikṣīpya tat-tad-veda-bhāga-parikṣā-kāle tāny=ākṣya ākṣa-lekhyā-cihnitaṁ vedam paṭha ity=adhyetāraḥ anuyujyante iti ghaṭikā-mārga-vṛttino* = 'nuyogāḥ. [ Using a tray for the pot, a similar system of examination is followed in some universities in the USSR.—Ed. ]

21 See *Sūryasiddhānta* (Calcutta, 1925), Ch. XIII, verse 23, and the Commentary thereunder ; also see E. Burgess, trans., Calcutta, 1936.

22 See the Talagunda inscription, verses 9-12 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 34 ; also cf. Sircar, *Successors of the Śātavāhanas*, p. 184, note).

23 In literature also the banks of the Godāvarī are stated to have been famous for the *ghaṭikā-sihānas*. See, e. g., *Ābhoga*, *op. cit.*, p. 774.

Kumārīlabhaṭṭa's reference to the *ghaṭikās* is taken seriously, it may give us a clue in deciding whether that great *ācārya* was a Southerner or Northerner.<sup>24</sup>

In the light of what has been said above, one may venture to interpret the expression *khaṇḍik-opādhyāya* of the *Mahābhāṣya*,<sup>25</sup> as 'a teacher of the Vedic school where examinations were conducted by means of the vessel known as *khaṇḍikā*'. This meaning seems to be more appropriate and better suited to the context than the explanations usually offered.<sup>26</sup> We have to remember that *khaṇḍikā* as a word for vessel, used for more than one purpose, was known to both the epigraphical and the grammatical authors.<sup>27</sup>

Scholars have also taken the word *ghaṭikā* and its Dravidian derivatives like *ghaṭige*, etc., found in inscriptions in the sense of a village assembly of the learned men probably with some administrative power.<sup>28</sup> Even in this case, it is likely that the

24 On the ground that his *Vārttika* uses Dravidian words with their semantic relationship to Sanskrit words, many take him to be a Southerner, while others regard him as a Northerner as he is referred to as *Mīśra* in the *Mīmāṃsā* works of the subsequent period. See *Tattvabindu* (Annamalainagar, 1936), introd., p. 29. [He may have been a Northerner settled in the South. See below for *khaṇḍikā* in the *Mahābhāṣya*, its author hailing from Gonarda between Ujjayinī and Vidiśā and flourishing at the Pāṭali-putra court. Cf. Sircar, *Stud. Geog.*, 1971, pp. 264ff.—Ed.]

25 Cf. *evam hi dīśyate loke, ya udātte karttavye—'nudattam karoti khaṇḍik-opādhyāyas=tasmat capeṣām dadāti* (under Pāṇini I. I. 1).

26 Kaiyaṭa has offered no explanation, and there is difference of opinion among scholars about its meaning. See, e. g., the *Mahābhāṣya* (Banaras, 1938), pp. 178-79, notes; P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, *Lectures on Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya* (Annamalainagar, 1944) p. 198; Apte's *Skt. Eng. Dict.* (1958), s. v. *khaṇḍikā*.

27 See D. C. Sircar, *Ind. Ep. Gloss.*, s. v.; S. M. Katre, *Dict. of Pāṇini* (Poona, 1968), s. v.

28 See *Tamil Lexicon*, s. v. *kaṭigai*; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 361; Vol. XIII, p. 327; Vol. XVI, p. 87, note; Vol. XIX, p. 39, note; *SII*, Vol. III, pp. 90-91. See also *ASI Mem.*, No. 63 (1941), pp. 33, 37, 54-55.

*ghatikā* derived its name from 'the pot' by means of which its learned members were elected. Indeed, the lot system that went by the name *kuḍavolai* (the pot-and-palm-leaves) to elect the learned members to the assembly is well known to the students of Indian history from the Uttaramerur inscriptions.<sup>29</sup> Thus it would appear that the said *kuḍavolai* system was not at all an invention of the Uttaramerur assembly during the period of Parāntaka I. Rather it was an adaptation of the system of examination by lot followed in the educational institutions in which obviously the learned members of the assembly had been earlier educated.

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<sup>29</sup> *ASI, AR*, 1904-05, pp. 131ff. ; K. A.N. Sastri, *Studies in Coḷa Hist.* (Madras, 1932), pp. 131ff. ; etc.



## TRANSLATION

### MAHĀMĀYŪRĪ

#### LIST OF YAKSAS

*Translated by D. C. SIRCAR*

#### 1. Introduction

The *Mahāmāyūrī* (i. e. the Great *Dhāraṇī* of the Peacock Suvarṇaprabhāsa), called *Vidyārājñī* (queen of magic), is one of the five famous magical texts of Northern Buddhism, known collectively as the *Pañcarakṣā* (fivefold protection). The work, essentially a charm for protection against snakes, was translated into Chinese (no less than four times between the fourth and eighth centuries A. D.) as well as in Tibetan. Many unconnected elements came gradually to be associated with the old nucleus of the text dealing with the story of 'the Golden-ray Peacock', and the works appearing in the three early Chinese translations (including one ascribed to Kumārajīva who prepared it in 402-12 A. D.) are believed to be diverse aspects of the same text. The list of the Yakṣas worshipped in various localities is wanting in the earliest Chinese translations. Two of the translations belonging to the period of the Eastern Tsin (317-420 A. D.) are attributed to the monk Po Śrīmitra who belonged to a royal family of 'the Western countries' and came to China between 307 and 322 A.D. The first integral Chinese translation of the *Mahāmāyūrī* text is assigned to the Indo-chinese author Saṅghabhaṭa (or °bhara) who came to China from Fu-nan and completed the work in 516 A. D. The Tibetan translation is ascribed to Śilendrabodhi, Jñānasiddhi, Śākyaprabha and Bande Ye-ses-sde.

The Sanskrit text of the *Mahāmāyūrī* was printed by Serge d'Oldenburg in the *Memoirs of the Eastern Section of the Imperial Russian Society of Archaeology* (Vol. XI, 1897-1898, Petersburg, 1899, pp. 218ff.; cf. M. Watanabe, 'A Chinese Text corresponding to Part of the Bower Ms.', in *JRAS*, 1907, pp. 261 ff. The text of the section dealing with the Yakṣas was ably edited by S. Lévi in the *Journal Asiatique*, Ser. XI, Vol. V, 1915, pp. 19-138, and Lévi's paper was translated into English by P. C. Bagchi in the *Sino-Indian Studies*, Vol. III, Parts 1-2, April-July, 1947, pp. 13-87; see also V. S. Agrawala in the *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, Vol. XV, Part ii, 1942, pp. 24-52. Bagchi does not refer to Agrawala's article.

There are many variant readings, some of which are palpably wrong. The place names are often repeated. Another source of confusion is that, in some cases, the texts are conflicting, the same name being represented as that of the Yakṣa in one or a few, but as that of his place is another or others. In the Chinese and Tibetan texts, the names are sometimes transliterated and sometimes translated. The translations of names are often inaccurate. The text has no literary merit, but is valuable to the student of early Indian geography and also to one interested in the religious life of ancient India, even though it is doubtful that the association of a certain Yakṣa with a particular locality has to be regarded as genuine in all cases.

The shorter redaction of the work begins with the Buddha introducing to Ānanda the Peacock King who lived in a locality to the south of the Snow Mountain and said how the recital of the sacred text of the formula of the Great Peacock King in the morning and in the evening made one secure during both day and night. This is followed by other details. The developed text of the *Mahāmāyūrī* begins with invocations followed by the episode of the monk Svāti who is bitten by a serpent while

chopping wood. Ānanda calls for the Buddha's help and the latter then communicates to him the Peacock Dhāraṇī. Thereafter comes the invocation of a chain of divinities, in groups, for assuring the effectiveness of the said Dhāraṇī, each group having its own Dhāraṇī. Here we find a mobilisation of the Buddhist pantheon together with the popular deities. There are the Bodhi trees of the seven Buddhas ; the four Mahārājas ; Kubera's son Naravāhana ; the Yakṣa protectors of cities, etc. ; the twentyeight Mahāyakṣa-senāpatīs who are the Dharmabhrātṛs of Vaiśravaṇa ; the group of female divinities who guarded the Bodhisattva in his mother's womb ; twelve Mahāpiśācis with eight others and seven more ; five Mahārākṣasīs with eight others and ten and twelve more ; twelve Mātṛs ; the Mahāpiśāci Ekajāṭā (wife of the Rākṣasa Rāvaṇa residing on the sea-shore) ; and seventyseven Mahārākṣasīs. We are concerned here only with the text relating to the Yakṣa protectors of cities, etc.

The list of the Yakṣas in the *Mahāmāyūrī*, as we have said, is valuable for the geographical names mentioned in association with the divinities. Some of the names appear to be doubtful while some of them cannot be identified. It has, however, been realised that the ignorance and carelessness of the scribes have led to the modification of the proper names in some cases, but that the Chinese and Tibetan translations help us in determining, on the whole, the text as it was read in the seventh and eighth centuries and even in the sixth century A. D.

The *Pañcarakṣā* or 'the fivefold protection spell' consists of the following five texts : (1) *Mahāpratisarā* for protection against diseases and other evils, (2) *Mahāsahasrapramardīnī*, against evil spirits, (3) *Mahāmāyūrī*, against hostile planets, wild animals and poisonous insects, and (5) *Mahāmantrānusāriṇī* (*Mahārākṣāmantrānusāriṇī*), against diseases. According to Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* (Chap. V), when king Prabhākaravardhana of Theśwar was lying in his death-bed, sacrifices and ceremonies

of various kinds were performed and the *Mahāmāyūrī* was recited. The *Māyūrī-viṣa-vidyā*, 'peacock science against poison', is mentioned in a stanza attributed to Rājaśekhara in Jalhana's *Sūktimuktāvalī*. See Winternitz, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, Vol. II, p. 385 ; *Harṣacarita*, trans. Cowell and Thomas, p. 137.

## 2. Text and Translation

1. *Krakucchandaḥ Pāṭalīputre* 2. *Sthūnāyāṁ c=Āparājitaḥ* /  
3. *Śailo Bhadrasure Yakṣa* 4. *uttarāyāṁ ca Mānavaḥ* // I.

I. Krukucchanda stays at Pāṭalīputra, Aparājita at Sthūnā (Sthūnā is a wrong spelling), the Yakṣa Śaila at Bhadrapura and Mānava in the northern quarter.

(1) The section is metrically defective owing to a syllable in excess. Pāṭalīputra or Pāṭaliputra stood at the junction of the Gaṅgā and the Śoṇa near modern Pāṭnā in Bihar. See Section 122 below.

*Readings.* Kou-liu-sun-t'o or Kiu-liu-sun-t'o (Kurusunda) ; Kie-kou-ts'un-na (*Chinese*). 'Khor-ba-'jig (circulation-to-destroy = Krakucchanda) (*Tibetan*).

Po-to-li-fu ; Po-ch'a-li-tseu (*Pāṭali-son*) (*Chinese*). Skya-nar-bu (*Pāṭali-flower-son*) (*Tibetan*).

(2) Sthūnā cannot be located satisfactorily. Lévi says that the *Udāna* (VII. 9) places it in the Malla country which lay about the present Deoria District of U. P. See also Section 109 below.

*Readings.* Sthālā (*Indian*). T'ou-na, Su-t'u-nu (*Chinese*). Ka-ba (pillar) (*Tibetan*).

A-po-lo-she-to, A-po-lo-ni-to (Aparāṇita), A-lo-po-she-to (sic) ; Pu-cheng (no-glory=Amahāyaśāḥ) (*Chinese*). Gz'an-gyis-mi-thub (not surpassed by another) (*Tibetan*).

(3) Bhadrapura cannot be satisfactorily located. Lévi places it near Pāṭaliputra. Sometimes it seems to be located in the Aṅga or Suhma country. Cf. Section 121 below.

*Readings.* Saura (*Indian*). She-lo ; 'Shen hieu (good-well-

behaved=Subhadra) in the city of She-lo' (*Chinese*). Brag (rock—Yakṣa) (*Tibetan*).

[The kingdom of] Po-t'o, [the city of] Shen-hien (good-well-behaved=Subhadra), [the Yakṣa] Shen-hien (*Chinese*). Groñ-khyer-bzañ (happy city) (*Tibetan*).

(4) *Uttarā* (the northern quarter) is not usually regarded as a place name.

*Readings.* U-tan-yue; 'the northern region' (*Chinese*). Byañ-phyogs (northern region) (*Tibetan*).

Mo-na-p'o, Na-p'a (sic) (*Chinese*). Śid-kyi-bu (son of Manu) (*Tibetan*).

5. *Va rapāṇi Rājagṛhe Gṛdhrakūṭe kṛt-ālayaḥ |*  
*triṣ=kr̥tvā c= ānuparyeti sāgar-āntāṃ vasundharām ||*  
*mahābalo mahātejāḥ śata-yojana-vikramaḥ || II.*

II. Vajrapāṇi stays at Rājagṛha; he has his abode at Gṛdhrakūṭa; three times he traverses the earth as far as the ocean; he has great strength and great might and his valour spreads over (or, step covers) one hundred *yojanas*.

(5) Rājagṛha is modern Rājgir in the Patna District, Bihar, and Gṛdhrakūṭa is one of the celebrated peaks in the hills around Rājgir. The real purpose of the second line of the verse is not clear. It is interesting to note that another Yakṣa named Vakula is also located at Rājagṛha below (Section 8; cf. Section 182). This is probably because Vajrapāṇi was the Yakṣa residing particularly on the Gṛdhrakūṭa peak at Rājagṛha.

*Readings.* Pei-chou-lo-po-ni; Kin-kang-shou (diamond-hand), 'Diamond-hand' (*Chinese*). Lag-na-rdo-rje (thunderbolt-in-hand) (*Tibetan*).

Wang-she (house of king=Rājagṛha) (*Chinese*). Rgyal-po'i-khab (house of king=Rājagṛha) (*Tibetan*).

Ki-she-kiue; Tsiu-fong (vulture-peak) (*Chinese*). Bya-rgod-phuñ-po (vulture-peak) (*Tibetan*). *Kṛtālaya*; is not a proper name. *Triṣkr̥tvā=trikṛtvā=lang gsum*, 'three times' (*Tibetan*).

For  $c = \text{ānuparyeti}$ ,  $c = \text{ānupayāti}$  (*Indian*) ;  $\text{bar-du}'\text{gro-byed-pa}$  (going to the middle, probably *antarāyāti*) (*Tibetan*).

*Hanumā-tīre Sāgaraḥ* (*Indian*) ; *rgya mch'oi-mtha'-yi-bar-gyi-sar* (on the land between the borders of oceans). Tibetan has *bcur* (ten) for *śata* or 100. Cf. Section 58.

6. *Garuḍo Vipule Yakṣas* — 7. *Citraguptaḥ Sthitimukhe* /  
8. *Rājagṛhe Vakulo Yakṣo mahāsainyo mahābalaḥ* || III.

III. The Yakṣa Garuḍa stays at Vipula, Citragupta at Sthitimukha and the Yakṣa Vakula possessing a great army and great strength stays at Rājagṛha.

(6) Vipula is one of the hills around Rājgir. For another Yakṣa staying on the Gṛdhrakūta peak at Rājagṛha, see Section 5 above. Rājagṛha is mentioned in Sections 5 and 182.

*Readings.* Kia-lu-t'o, Kie-lu-t'u ; Kin-ch'a-niao (bird with golden wings) (*Chinese*). Mkha'-ldiñ (air-hover) (*Tibetan*).

Vipula (epithet of Garuḍa) (*Indian*). P'i-fu-lo (*Chinese*). Rgyas-pa (expanded) (*Tibetan*).

(7) Sthitimukha cannot be located satisfactorily, but is supposed by Lévi to have been a place on the slope of the Vipula hill. The name Citragupta reminds us of the homonymous Brāhmaṇical deity who was the scribe of the god Yama.

*Readings.* Che-to-lo-kieu-to, Che-to-lo-ki-to (*Chinese*). Sna-chogs-sbed-pa (divers-hidden) (*Tibetan*).

Sthirīpura, Citimukha (*Indian*). Ti-li-ti-mu-k'o, Ts'eu-ti-mu-k'ia, Che-ti-mu-k'i (*Chinese*). Gnas-sgo (site-gate) (*Tibetan*).

(8) The first half of the line is metrically defective because of a syllable in excess. Rājagṛha (modern Rājgir) is already mentioned above (Section 5) ; cf. Section 182 below.

*Readings.* Vakkula (*Indian*). Po-kou-lo, Po-kiu-lo (*Chinese*). Ba-kul (*Tibetan*).

- 9-10. *Kāl-Opakālakau Yakṣau vasataḥ Kapilavastuni* /  
*yatra jāto munir = Buddho Śākyaketur = Mahāmuniḥ* || IV.

IV. The two Yakṣas, Kāla and Upakālaka (Upakāla), live at Kapilava(vā)stu where the sage Buddha called Śākyaketu (literally, the banner of the Śākyas) and Mahāmuni (literally, the Great Sage) was born.

(9-10) The correct form of the name is not *Kapilavastu*, but *Kapilavāstu*. See Sircar, *Stud. Geog.*, 2nd ed., pp. 313-14. It was a town about the border between the Nepalese Tarai and the Basti District of U. P., not far from the village of Padariya in the Tarai, where the Rumindei pillar inscription of Aśoka stands. The second foot of the stanza has one syllable in excess. For Kapilava(vā)stu, see also Section 129.

*Readings.* K'o-to... You-po-k'o-to (Khāta-Upakhāta), Ko-lo-siao (small *Kāla*), Ta-siao-hei (great-small-black) (*Chinese*). Nag-po-ñe-nag-po (black-near-black) (*Tibetan*).

Kia-'pi-lo [kingdom], Kie-pi-lo [city] (*Chinese*). Ser-kya-yi-nas-na (city of the brown=Kapilavāstu) (*Tibetan*).

11. *Kalmāṣapādo Vairāyāṃ* 12. *Virāṭeṣu Maheśvaraḥ* /  
13. *Bṛhaspatiś=ca Śrāvastyāṃ* 14. *Sāketē Sāgarō*  
vaset || V.

V. Kalmāṣapāda stays at Vairā, Maheśvara in the Virāṭa country, Bṛhaspati at Śrāvasti, and Sāgara at Sāketa.

(11) Vairā, which Lévi identifies with Wer to the south-east of Bharatpur, cannot really be located satisfactorily.

*Readings.* Ko-mo-li(shoe)-po-t'o ; Pan-tou-tsiu (spot-peas-foot), Pan-tsiu (spot-foot) (*Chinese*). Rkan-bkra-po (spotted foot) (*Tibetan*). For Kalmāṣapāda, see *JPTS*, 1909, pp. 130ff.

Vairā (*Indian*). P'i-lo, Pi-lo-ye, Fei-lo-ye (*Chinese*). Dgra-can (having enemy) (*Tibetan*).

(12) The Virāṭa country is the same as Matsya located in the Bharatpur-Alwar-Jaipur region. It had its capital at Virāṭanagara which is modern Bairat, 41 miles north-east of Jaipur.

*Readings.* P'i-lo to ; Tseu-lo-ch'a (Cīrāṭa) and Che-lo-to

(Cirāta = Kirāta) (*Chinese*). Ci-ra-ta (Cirāta = Kirāta) (*Tibetan*).

Mo-hi-tsou-lo, Mo-hi-shou ; Ta-pei (great-white = Mahāśveta), Ta-tseu-tsai (great sovereign) (*Chinese*). Dbañ-phyug (lord-master) (*Tibetan*).

(13) Śrāvasti is modern Set-Mahet on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich Districts of U. P.

*Readings.* P'i-li-hai-po-ti, Pi-li-ho-po-ti, Wu-ho-so-po-ti (*Chinese*). Phur-bu (the planet Jupiter) (*Tibetan*).

Sho-wei, She-lo-fa (*Chinese*). Mñan-yod (to-hear-is) (*Tibetan*).

(14) Sāketa, also mentioned in Section 118 below, was adjacent to Ayodhyā in the Faizabad District, U. P. The word *vaset* has been used in the sense of *vasati*.

*Readings.* So-che-to, So-k'i-tu, So-k'i-to (*Chinese*). Gnas-bcas-pa (place-having—sic) (*Tibetan*).

So-kia-lo, So-kie-lo, So-ye-lo (*Chinese*). Rgya-mcho (ocean) (*Tibetan*).

15. *Vajrāyudhaś = ca Vaiśālyāṁ* 16. *Malleṣu Haripīṅgalaḥ* /

17. *Vārāṇasyāṁ Mahākālaś =* 18. *Campāyāṁ ca Sudarāṣanaḥ* || VI.

VI. Vajrāyudha stays at Vaiśālī, Haripīṅgala in the Malla country, Mahākāla at Vārāṇasī, and Sudarśana at Campā.

(15) Vaiśālī is modern Basarh in the Muzaffarpur District, Bihar. It was the ancient capital of the Licchavis.

*Readings.* Fa-sho-lo-you-t'o ; Kin-kang-chang (diamond-arm = Vajrabāhu), Kin-k'ang-chu (diamond-pestle—sic) (*Chinese*). Rdo-rje-mchon (diamond-arm = Vajrabāhu).

P'i-sha-lo, P'i-so-lo, Pi-sho-li (*Chinese*). Yañs-pa-can (extent-having) (*Tibetan*).

(16) The Malla country is located around the present Deoria District of U. P.

*Readings.* Mo-lo ; Li-she (athlete) (*Chinese*). Gyad (athlete) (*Tibetan*).



Ho-li-ping-kia-lo, Ho-li-ping-kie-lo, Ho-li-ping-ye-lo ;  
She-tseu-ts'ing-she (lion-green) (*Chinese*). Spre'u-ltar-dmar-ser  
(monkey-similar-grey) (*Tibetan*).

(17) Vārāṇasī (popularly called Banāras) is the head-  
quarters of the District of that name in U. P.

*Readings.* P'o-lo-na, So-lo-na (sic), P'o-lo-na-sse (*Chinese*).  
Bā-ra-na-se (*Tibetan*).

Mo-ho-ko-lo ; Ta-hai (great-black) (*Chinese*). Nag-po-che  
(great-black) (*Tibetan*). Mahākāla is Śiva worshipped at  
Vārāṇasī.

(18) Campā lay in the suburbs of the present town of  
Bhagalpur in Bihar. It was the ancient capital of Aṅga.

*Readings.* Chan-po (*Chinese*). Cam-pa (*Tibetan*).

Siu-t'o-li-sho-na ; Shen-hien (beautiful-to-look) ; Shen-hieu  
(beautiful-look) (*Chinese*). Lta-na-sdug (beautiful to see)  
(*Tibetan*).

19. *Viṣṇur* = *Yakṣo Dvārakāyān* 20. *Dharaṇo Dvārāpāliyam*

21. *Vibhīṣaṇas* = *Tāmrāparṇyam* = 22. *Uragāyān* = *ca*  
*Mardanaḥ* || VII.

VII. The Yakṣa Viṣṇu stays at Dvārakā, Dharaṇa  
at Dvārāpālī, Vibhīṣaṇa in Tāmrāparṇī and Mardana at  
Uragā.

(19) Modern Dwarka (Dvārakā) in Kāthiawar (Gujarat  
State) is the substitute of the ancient city of that name which  
was washed away by the floods of the sea. Dvārakā is also  
mentioned in Section 123 (cf. Section 136). The name of the  
Yakṣa is interesting because it was the abode of Vāsudeva  
Kṛṣṇa identified with Viṣṇu.

*Readings.* P'i-fu-niu (Vipnu) ; Fei-k'ien-nu (Vighnu), Po-  
k'ien-nu (sic), Fei-she-nu (*Chinese*). Khyab-'jug (penetrating)  
(*Tibetan*).

T'o-lo-ko, P'o-lo-kia (Bārakā) ; T'o-lo (*Chinese*). Sgo-can  
(having-door) (*Tibetan*).

(20) *Dvārapālyām* has been written *Dvārapāliyam* for the metre's sake. *Dvārapāli* and its variants cannot be located satisfactorily. Lévi draws our attention to *Dvārapāla* in the Punjab region, which is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (II. 32.14).

*Readings.* Dhalana, Varuṇa, Dharanya (*Indian*). T'o-lo-nai = 'to hold', To-lo-ni (*Chinese*). 'Jin-pa-po (holder) (*Tibetan*).

*Dvārapāri*, *Dvārapālā* (*Indian*). T'o-lo-po-pi; Hu-men (guard-gate) (*Chinese*). Sgo-druñ (door-nearness - sic) (*Tibetan*).

(21) *Tāmravarṇī* (Greek *Taprobane*; cf. *Laṅkā* below, Section 65) is an old name of Ceylon. The name of the *Yakṣa* is interesting because *Vibhīṣaṇa* was placed on *Rāvaṇa*'s throne by *Rāma* after his conquest of *Laṅkā*.

*Readings.* P'i-p'i-sho-na; K'o-wei (redoubtable), K'o-wei-hing (redoubtable figure) (*Chinese*). 'Jigs-byed (terrifying) (*Tibetan*).

*Tāmravarṇī*, *Āmravarṇā* (*Indian*). Tan-lo-po-mo; Shu-t'ong-she (colour of burnt copper), Ch'e-t'ong-che (colour of red copper), T'ong-she (copper-colour) (*Chinese*). Zaṅs-kyi-'dab-ma (copper leaf = *Tāmravarṇa*) (*Tibetan*).

(22) *Uragā* cannot be located with certainty, but may be the same as *Uragapura*, i. e. *Uṛaiyūr* in the suburbs of *Tiruchirapalli* in *Tamīlnadu*. The correct reading may, however, be *Uraśā* or *Urasā* which is the old name of the *Hazara District* in the North-West Frontier Province (Ptolemy, VII. 1.45; Stein on *Rājatar.*, V. 217).

*Readings.* U-lo-kia; Sha-ye-cho ([ *Ura\** ] *śāyām ca*) (*Chinese*). Praṅ-gi-'gro (serpent-gait) (*Tibetan*).

*Madana* (*Indian*). Mo-t'o-na, Mo-ta-na (*Chinese*). 'Joms-pa-po (oppressor = *Mardana*) (*Tibetan*).

23. *Aṭavyām* = *Āṭavako Yakṣaḥ* 24. *Kapilo Bahudhānyake* |

25. *Ujjayanyām Vasutrāto* 26. *Vasubhūti* = *Avantiṣu* || VIII.

VIII. The Yakṣa Āṭavaka lives at Aṭavī and Kapila at Bahudhānyaka ; Vasutrāta stays at Ujjayanī and Vasabhūti in the Avanti country.

(23) The section is metrically defective. Better read *Āṭava* for *Āṭavaka* for the sake of metre. There were certain forest kingdoms generally called Aṭavī, two of the groups of forest states being called 'the eighteen forest kingdoms' (*aṣṭādaś-āṭavī-rājya*), one in Orissa and another near Jabalpur. The Buddhist literature seems to locate the city or country of Aṭavī, or one of the territories or cities of this name, between Magadha and Kosala. Āṭavaka is the same as the Yakkha Āṭavaka in Pali literature.

*Readings.* Lin (forest), K'oang-ye (jungle), K'oang-ye-lin. (forest of jungle) (*Chinese*). 'Broḡ (jungle) (*Tibetan*).

A-ch'a-po-kiu (Āṭavaka), A-to-p'o (Āṭava) ; K'oang-ye (jungle) (*Chinese*). 'Broḡ-gnas-po (jungle-living) (*Tibetan*).

(24) Bahudhānyaka is mentioned on the coins of the Yaudheyas apparently as their capital. It was probably modern Khokhrakot near Rohtak, Rohtak District, Haryana.

*Readings.* Kia-p'i-lo, Kie-pi-lo (*Chinese*). Ser-skyā (brown) (*Tibetan*). See Sections 52 and 97.

Vasudhānyaka (*Indian*.) To-ku (much cereal), To-tsai (much wealth=Bahudhanaka), To-tao (much rice) (*Chinese*). 'Bru-maṅs (much grain) (*Tibetan*).

(25) Ujjayanī is generally spelt *Ujjayinī* which was the capital of Avanti. It is modern Ujjain, headquarters of a District of that name in Madhya Pradesh. The name of the Yakṣa here was expected to have been Mahākāla, the famous Jyotirliṅga of Śiva at Ujjayinī.

*Readings.* Yu-sho-ye-ni, U-she-ni (*Chinese*). 'Phags-rgyal (risen-victorious) (*Tibetan*).

P'o-siu-to-lo (Vasutāra) ; Hu-she (guard-world—sic) (*Chinese*). Nor-bsruṅ (treasure-guard) (*Tibetan*).

(26) The Avanti country (also mentioned in Section 87) was roughly the present West Malwa of which Ujjayinī, headquarters of a District of that name in Western Madhya Pradesh, was the capital.

*Readings.* Vasubhūmi (*Indian*). P'o-pu-ti (Va[su\*]bhūti), Po-su-pu-mi (Vasubhūmi), Wa-su-pu-ti (Vasubhūti) (*Chinese*). Nor-'byor (treasure-fullness=Vasubhūti) (*Tibetan*).

P'o-lan-ti (Varanti), Ho-la-man-ti (Ravanti), A-lo-wan-ti (Arvanti) (*Chinese*). Bsrūn-byed (protection-do) (*Tibetan*).

27. *Bharuko Bharukaccheṣu* 28. *Nando Ānandapura sthitaḥ*  
29. *Agrodake Mālyadhara* 30. *Ānando Maraparpaṭe* || IX.

IX. Bharuka lives in the Bharukaccha territory and Nanda at Ānandapura; Mālyadhara stays at Agrodaka and Ānanda at Maraparpaṭa.

(27) Bharukaccha (Bhṛgukaccha) is modern Broach on the mouth of the Narmadā. The country of Bharukaccha comprised the present Broach District of Gujarat.

*Readings.* Po-lo-kia, K'iou-lou-ko (Guruka); Shui-t'ien (god of water = Varuṇa) (*Chinese*). Gso-ba (maintainer = Bharaka, Bharaka) (*Tibetan*).

P'o-lou-ko-ch'o, Po-lu-kie-ch'o, Po-lu-kie ts'e (*Chinese*). Gso-ba'i-mtha' (bank of maintainer = Bharakaccha) (*Tibetan*).

(28) The section is grammatically and metrically defective. Ānandapura is modern Vaḍnagar to the north of Ahmedabad in Gujarat.

*Readings.* Nan-t'o, Huan-hi (joyful) (*Chinese*). Dga'-bo (joyful) (*Tibetan*).

Nandapura (*Indian*). A-nan-t'o-fu-lo; Huan-hi (joyful) (*Chinese*). Ñe-dga'-groṇ-khyer (near-joyful city = Ānandapura) (*Tibetan*).

(29) Agrodaka (also mentioned in Section 127) in modern Agroha, thirteen miles north-west of Hissar in the Hissar District, Haryana.

*Readings.* A-kiu-lou-t'o-fen(ko) (Yakṣa), Shen-shui ('higher-water'—place) (*Chinese*). Chu-mchog ('excellent-water'—place) (*Tibetan*).

Mālādhara (*Indian*). Mo-li-t'o-lo ; Che-hua-man (hold-flower-garland), Che-man (hold-garland) (*Chinese*). Phreñ-ba-'jin (garland-hold) (*Tibetan*).

(30) One of the variant readings for *Maraparpaṭa* is *Maraparvata*, i.e., apparently *Amaraparvata*, which seems to be correct. *Amaraparvata* may be the Amarkantak range, the source of the Narmadā. Lévi suggests that *Amaraparvata* may be located in the Punjab region on the basis of the *Mahābhārata*, II. 32 11. Cf. *Rām.*, II. 71.3.

*Readings.* A-nan-t'o (*Chinese*). Kun-dga' (complete-happy) (*Tibetan*).

Maraparyāṭa, Maruparvata, Maraparvata (*Amaraparvata*) (*Indian*). Po-lo-po-to (Parpata), Mo-lo-po-po-che (Marapar-pata), Mo-lo-po-ch'a (Marapaṭa) (*Chinese*). 'Chi-med-sa-z'ug (immortal-earth-grease = *Amaraparpata*) (*Tibetan*).

31. Śukladāṁṣṭraḥ Suvāstau ca 32. Dṛḍha-nāma(mā)

Manasviṣu |

33 Mahāgīrī = Girinagare 34. Vāsavo Vaidīṣe vaset || X.

X. Śukladāṁṣṭra lives in Suvāstu and Dṛḍhanāman in the Manasvin territory ; Mahāgīrī stays at Girinagara, and Vāsava at Vaidīṣa.

(31) *Suvāstu* is a better reading than *Suvastu* and *Surāṣṭra*. It is the present Swat lying in the valley of the Swat river.

*Readings.* Shu-ko-lo-t'ang-sho-to-lo ; Pe-ya or Pe-ya-ch'e (white tooth) (*Chinese*). Mche-ba-dkar (tooth-white) (*Tibetan*).

Surāṣṭra, *Suvāstuṣu* (*Indian*). Sui-po-tou-nan (*Suvāstūnām*) ; Shen-ch'u (good-place), Sheng-miao-ch'u (excellent-place), Sheng-miao-ch'eng (excellent-city) (*Chinese*). Dños-bzañ (good-thing = *Suvastu*) (*Tibetan*).

(32) The country called Manasvin is unknown.

*Readings.* Ti-li-t'o-nan ; Kien-ming or Kien-ku-ming (solid-name) (*Chinese*). Mi(Miñ)-brtan-pa (name-firm) (*Tibetan*).

Mo-sseu-ti-ko (Masitika), A-pan-ti (Avanti) or A-li-ti (Arīti), Mo-so-ti (Masati) (*Chinese*). Gzi-can (shining—sic) (*Tibetan*).

(33) The name of Girinagara is preserved in that of the modern Girnar hill near Junagarh in Kathiawar (Gujarat). The section is metrically defective.

*Readings.* Mo-ho-ki-li ; Ta-shan (great-mountain) (*Chinese*). Ri-chen (great-mountain) (*Tibetan*).

Ki-li-na-kia-lo ; Shan-ch'eng (mountain-city = Girinagara) (*Chinese*). Ri-ldan-groñ-khyer (having mountain-city) (*Tibetan*).

(34) Vaidiśa is the same as Vidiśā, modern Besnagar on the Betwa opposite the medieval city of Bhaillāsvāmin (Bhelsā) which was named after the Sun-god worshipped there.

*Readings.* P'o-so-p'o (*Chinese*). Nor-gyi-bu (son of treasure = Vāsava from *vasu*).

Pi-ti-she, Pi-che-sho (sic), Fei-ni-she (sic) (*Chinese*). Phyogs-mchams (cardinal regions = Vaidiśa from *vidiś*) (*Tibetan*).

35. Rohitake Kārttikeyaḥ Kumāro loka-viśrutaḥ |

36. Vai(Ve)ṇvā-taṭe Śatabāhuḥ 37. Kālīṅgeṣu

Bṛhadrathaḥ || XI.

XI. Kārttikeya, famous in the world as Kumāra, lives at Rohitaka ; Śatabāhu stays at Veṇvātata, and Bṛhadratha in the Kālīṅga country.

(35) Rohitaka is modern Rohtak in the District of that name in Haryana. Kārttikeya of Rohitaka (Rohitaka) is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, II. 32.4.

*Readings.* Lu-hi-to-ko, Lu-hi-te (Rohita), Lu-hi-to (Rohita) (*Chinese*). Skya-yod (red) (*Tibetan*).

Kie-ti-k'i (sic), Ko-ti-che (sic), Kia-li-ki (sic), T'ong-tseu (boy = Kumāra) (*Chinese*). Smin-drug-bu (son of the Kṛttikā) (*Tibetan*).

The translations of this passage runs as follows : "The Yakṣa T'ong-tseu (boy, i.e. Kumāra) is glorious in the world" ; "The divine Yakṣa T'ong-tseu resides in the kingdom of Ming-ch'eng (glory)" ; "This Yakṣa Tong-tseu, his name is heard in the great city" (*Chinese*). Cf. "famous as Boy, he has the glory of the world" (*Tibetan*).

(36) Venvātata is difficult to locate, though it stood on the Venvā river. Unfortunately there are several rivers of this name. Cf. *Mbh.*, II. 31. 12.

*Readings.* Ch'an-t'o-ko-lo ([kingdom of] Candrākāra), P'in-to-shan (the mountain *Vindhya* = Vindhya-giri, Vindhya-tata) (*Chinese*). 'Od-ma'i-gram (bank of bamboo = Venū-tata) (*Tibetan*).

Sha-to-p'o-hou; Pe-kien (hundred shoulders = Śataskandha), Pai-pi (hundred-hands) (*Chinese*). Lag-rgya (hundred-hands) (*Tibetan*). Kumāra and Śataskandha have also been said to live at Candrākāra.

(37) The Kaliṅga country, which is also mentioned below (Sections 80 and 137 ; cf. Sections 145-16), lay in the coastal region of Orissa and Andhra Pradesh.

*Readings.* Kia-ling-kia, Kie-ling-kia (*Chinese*). Ka-liṅ-ga (*Tibetan*).

Pi-li-hai-lo-t'o ; Ta-cho (great-chariot), Kuang-cho (large-chariot) (*Chinese*). Śin-rta-che (great-chariot) (*Tibetan*).

38. *Duryodhanaś = ca Śrughneṣu* 39. *Arjunaś = c = Ārjunāvane* / 40. *Mardane Maṇḍapo Yakṣo* 41. *Girikūṭaś = ca Mālave* // XII.

XII. Duryodhana lives in the Śrughna country and Arjuna at Arjunāvana ; the Yakṣa Maṇḍapa stays at Mardana, and Girikūṭa in the Mālava country.

(38) The headquarters of the Śrughna country lay at the site of modern Sugh to the north of Thaneshwar in Haryana. See Section 108 where the name is spelt *Srughna*.

*Readings.* T'ou-lou-yu-t'o-na ; Pu-k'o-hi (impossible to

resist), Neng-cheng-chan (capable of overcoming in fight) (*Chinese*). Thub-par-dka' (difficult to overcome) (*Tibetan*).

Su-lu-kin-na ; A-k'i-nai (Aghna) (*Chinese*), 'Gro'-joms (to go to kill—sic) (*Tibetan*).

(39) The correct reading for *Arjunā-vane* may be *Arjunā-yane*, i.e. in the land of the Arjunāyanās. Cf. Yaudheya mentioned as a geographical name elsewhere (Section 103).

*Readings.* A-shou-na, A-shu-na ; Hiung-meng (very brave) (*Chinese*). Srid-sgrub (white) (*Tibetan*).

A-shou-na-lin (forest of *Arjuna*), Huang-ming (kingdom of 'very-brave'), A-tsu-na-lin (forest of *Arjuna*) (*Chinese*). Srid-sgrub-nags (*Arjuna* forest) (*Tibetan*).

(40) Mardana may be Mardan in the Peshawar District of N. W. F. P., Pakistan. Some sources suggest *Mardano Maṇḍape Yakṣo* giving the name of the abode of Yakṣa Mardana at Maṇḍapa. The early medieval name of modern Maṇḍū in Madhya Pradesh was Maṇḍapa. Cf. Section 99.

*Readings.* Mo-t'o-nai (Yakṣa), Mo-ta-ni or Mo-ta-na (place) (*Chinese*). 'Joms-pa (oppressor—Yakṣa) (*Tibetan*).

Man-t'o-p'o (kingdom), Man-ch'a pu (Yakṣa), A-na-po (sic) (*Chinese*). 'Dun-khan (hall of parlour—place) (*Tibetan*).

(41) The original settlement of the Mālavas lay in the Western Punjab in Pakistan ; but the people, or a section of them, settled in the Uniyara region of the Tonk District, Rajasthan, and finally in the Mahī valley in Gujarat and the Malwa region first giving their name to East Malwa and then to West Malwa. It is difficult to say where exactly is the Mālava of our text to be located. For the Mālavas, see Sircar, *Stud. Geog.*, 2nd ed., pp. 205ff.

*Readings.* Ki-li-ku-to ; Shan-ting (mountain-summit), Shan-fong (mountain-peak) (*Chinese*). Ri-brcegs (mountain-accumulated) (*Tibetan*).



Mo-lo-p'o, Mo-la-p'o (*Chinese*). Phreñ-ba-bsruñ (garland-protect) (*Tibetan*).

42. *Bhadraś = ca Rohitāśveṣu* 43. *Sarvabhadrāś = ca Śākale* |  
44. *Śauṭīrake Pālitaḥ sārthavāhaḥ Dhaneśvaraḥ* || XIII.

XIII. Bhadra lives in the country of Rohitāśva and Sarvabhadrā at Śākala ; Sārthavāha-Dhaneśvara, the protector (or Sārthavāha, and Dhaneśvara the protector), stays at Śauṭīraka.

(42) The Rohitāśva country, regarded as the region around Rohtas or Rotas in the Jhelam District, West Punjab, may be really Rohtas or Rohtasgarh in the Sahabad District, Bihar.

*Readings.* Kadru (*Indian*). P'in-t'o-lo (Bindra—sic), Ho-lu-ta-lo (Rudra), Lu-nai-lo (Rudra) (*Chinese*). Bzañ-po (beautiful = Bhadra) (*Tibetan*).

Lou-hi-to (Rohita), Lu-hi-ta-ma (*Rohita-horse*) (*Chinese*). Rta-dmar (red horse) (*Tibetan*).

(43) Śākala is the old name of modern Sialkot in West Punjab (Pakistan). It was the ancient capital of the Madras and of the Indo-Greek king Menander who flourished about 100 B.C.

*Readings.* Sarvabhakṣa (*Indian*). Sa-p'o-po-t'o-lo ; Yit-sie-hien (all-wise = Sarvabhadrā), Yi-tsie-she (all-eat = Sarvabhakṣa) (*Chinese*). Thams-c'ad-bzañ (all-good = Sarvabhadrā) (*Tibetan*).

Śālaka (sic), Mālava (*Indian*). Sho-ko-lo, She-kie-lo, She-kie-che (Śakata) (*Chinese*). Ma-rjogs (incomplete = Śākala from *śakala*) (*Tibetan*).

(44) Śauṭīraka cannot be satisfactorily located.

*Readings.* Shu-ti-lo-ko, Shao-che-lo-kia, Shao-che-lo-k'i (*Chinese*). Sñems-pa-can (proud = Śauṭīraka) (*Tibetan*).

Po-li-to-ko, Po-li-to-kia, Po-li-te-kia (*Chinese*). Skyoñ-pa-po (protector, though *pālita* is 'protected') (*Tibetan*).

Sa-t'o-p'o-ho (Yakṣa) ; Shang-chu (chief-of merchants = Sārthavāha) (*Chinese*). Ded-pon (caravan-chief) (*Tibetan*).

T'o-ni-so-lo (Yakṣa) ; Fong-tsai (abundant-treasure), Ts'ai-tseu-tsai (sovereign of treasures) (*Chinese*). Nor-gyi-dbañ-phyug's (is the master of treasures) (*Tibetan*).

45. *Ajitañjaye Kūṭadamṣṭro* 46. *Vasubhadro Vasātiṣu* |

47. *Śivaḥ Śivapur-āhāre* 48. *Śivabhadraś-ca Bhīṣaṇe* ||XIV.

XIV. Kūṭadamṣṭra lives at Ajitañjaya and Vasubhadra in the Vasāti country ; Śiva stays in the Śivapura district, and Śivabhadra at Bhīṣaṇa.

(45) Ajitañjaya, also mentioned in Section 126, cannot be satisfactorily identified. The section has one syllable in excess.

*Readings.* A-she-tan-she-ye ; Nan-sheng (difficult to surpass), represented as the place of the Yakṣas Sārthavāha and Dhaneśvara (*Chinese*). Ma-rgyal-rgya (to conquer the unconquered) (*Tibetan*).

Kūṭastha (*Indian*). Kou-to-tang-so-tu-lo ; Fong-ya (peak-tooth) (*Chinese*). Mche-ba-gcigs (show-teeth—sic) (*Tibetan*).

(46) The Vasāti people, associated in the *Mahābhārata* (VII. 19. 11, 89. 37 ; VIII. 44. 49) often with the Śibis of the Shorkot region in the Jhang District, West Punjab (Pakistan), are the same as the Ossadioi who lived in Alexander's age above the joint course of the Punjab rivers.

*Readings.* P'o-siu-po-t'o-lo ; She-hien (world-happy—sic) (*Chinese*). Nor-bzañ (treasure-happy) (*Tibetan*).

Vaśāti (*Indian*). P'o-so-ti, Po-so-ti (*Chinese*). Gnas-can (having place—sic) (*Tibetan*).

(47) Śivapura, headquarters of a district (*āhāra*) of that name, is the modern Shorkot in the Jhang District, Punjab (Pakistan). For the devotion of the Śiva or Śivi (Śibi) people to the god Śiva, see Sircar, *Stud. Rel. L. Anc. Med. Ind.*, p. 10.

*Readings.* She-p'o (*Chinese*). Z'i-ba (pacified) (*Tibetan*).

Śivapur-ādhāna (*Indian*). She-p'o-fu-lo-ho-lo, 'She-she-p'o-cheng (food-Śiva-city) (*Chinese*). Z'i-ba'i groñ-len (of the pacified-city-take) (*Tibetan*). The word *āhāra* primarily means

'eating', but secondarily 'food' from which also 'a *jā'gīr* for maintenance', and finally, a geographical unit. See Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 383, note 3.

(48) *Bhīṣaṇa* cannot be satisfactorily identified.

*Readings.* She-p'o-po-t'o-lo ; Tai-tsing-hien (peaceful-wise) (*Chinese*). Z'i-ba-bzañ-po (appeased-beautiful) (*Tibetan*).

She-sha-na (*Śiṣana*) ; K'o-wei (redoubtable) (*Chinese*). 'Jig-sbyed (terrifying) (*Tibetan*).

49. *Indraś = c = Endrapure Yakṣaḥ* 50. *Puṣpaketuḥ Śīlāpure* / 51. *Dāruko Dārukapure* 52. *Kapilo vasati Varṇuṣu* // XV.

XV. Indra stays at Indrapura and Puṣpaketu at Śīlāpura ; Dāruka lives at Dārukapura and Kapila in the Varṇu country.

(49) Indrapura may be modern Indore near Dibhai in the Bulandshahr District U. P., mentioned under this name in the Indore plate of Skandagupta's time (Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, 1865, p. 318) or modern Indore in Madhya Pradesh.

*Readings.* Yin-to'-lo (*Chinese*). Dbañ-po (master) (*Tibetan*).

Yin-to-lo-p'o-t'o (Indravadha) (*Chinese*). Dbañ-gron (master-city) (*Tibetan*).

(50) Śīlāpura cannot be satisfactorily identified.

*Readings.* Fu-sha-po-che-tou ; Hua-ch'uang (flower-banner) (*Chinese*). Me-tog-rtog (flower-lighting—sic) (*Tibetan*).

(51) Dārukapura cannot be satisfactorily identified.

*Readings.* Dāraka (*Indian*). T'o-lo-ko (Dāraka), T'o-liu (Dāru), Na-lu-kia (Dāruka) (*Chinese*). Śiñ (wood=Dāru) (*Tibetan*).

Dārakapura (*Indian*). T'o-lo-pu-lo (Dārapura), T'o-lu-cheng (Dāru-pura) (*Chinese*). Śiñ-gi-gron-khyer (city of wood=Dāru-pura) (*Tibetan*).

(52) The section is metrically defective. Varnu is modern Bannu in the District of that name in N.W.F.P., Pakistan.

Lévi identifies it with Buner and with Aornos of the Greeks. Hiuen-tsang's Fa-la-na is Varṇu or Bannu. According to Pāṇini (IV. 2. 102-03, 142), Kanthā was a locality in the Varṇu country, and it was not far from Peshawar according to a Buddhist legend as pointed out by Lévi.

*Readings.* Ko-p'i-lo, Kie-pi-lo ; Tou-huang-she (head-yellow-colour) (*Chinese*). Ser-skya (grey) (*Tibetan*). See Sections 24 and 97.

Vallu, Varni (*Indian*). Po-na (Varṇa), P'o-nu (Varṇu), Pa-(She)-ch'eng (colour-city) (*Chinese*). Kha-dog-can (having-colour = Varṇin) (*Tibetan*).

53-54. *Mañibhadro Brahmavatyām Pūrṇabhadraś = ca bhrātarau/*

55. *Pramardanaś = ca Gandhāre* 56. *Takṣaṣilyām Prabhañjanaḥ/*

XVI.

XVI. The two brothers Mañibhadra and Pūrṇabhadra stay at Brahmavatī ; Pramardana lives in Gandhāra and Prabhañjana at Takṣaṣilī (sic—Takṣaṣilā).

(53-54) Brahmavatī cannot be satisfactorily located.

*Readings.* Ma-ni-po-t'o-lo ; Pao-hien (jewel-wise) (*Chinese*). Nor-bu-bzan (precious-stone-beautiful) (*Tibetan*).

P'o-lo-mo-ti-ye, Fan-mo-fa-ti (*Chinese*). Chan-s-ba-ldan-pa (having *Brahman*) (*Tibetan*).

Fen-ni-po-t'o-lo ; Man-hien (full-wise) (*Chinese*). Gañ-ba-bzan (full-beautiful) (*Tibetan*).

(55) Gandhāra comprised the Peshawar District, having its headquarters at Puṣkalāvātī, though Takṣaṣilā near Rawalpindi was sometimes regarded as a secondary capital of the country.

*Readings.* Po-lo-mo-t'o-na ; Hiang-fu-t'a and Neng-ts'uei-t'a ('overcome-others' which is not 'Paramardana' necessarily as suggested by Lévi) (*Chinese*). 'Joms-pa po (oppressor = Pramardana) (*Tibetan*).

K'ien-t'o-lo, Kien-t'o-lo (*Chinese*). Ba-lan-'jin (cow-hold = Gām-dhāra) (*Tibetan*).

(56) Takṣaśilā (Greek *Taxila*) is modern Shahdheri not far from Rawalpindi in the West Punjab (Pakistan).

*Readings.* Cho-ch'a-shi-lo, Te-ch'a-shi-lo (*Chinese*). Rdo-'jog (cut-stone) (*Tibetan*).

Po-lo-p'an-sho-na ; Neng-ts'uei-t'a ('overcome-others' which is not necessarily 'Parabhāñjana' as suggested by Lévi), Neng-kuai (destroyer) (*Chinese*). Rab-tu-'joms-pa (very-oppressor) (*Tibetan*). See Section 164.

57. *Kharapostā Mahāyakṣo Bhadrāsāile nivāsikaḥ* |

58. *Trigupto Hanūmā-tīre* 59. *Rauruke sa Prabhaṅkaraḥ* ||  
XVII.

XVII. The great Yakṣa Kharapoṣṭr is resident at Bhadrāsāila ; Trigupta lives on the bank of Hanūmā, and Prabhaṅkara stays at Rauruka.

(57) Bhadrāsāila cannot be satisfactorily identified, though it reminds us of Bhadrāsīlā which is an old name of Takṣaśilā (or actually of a part of it) according to the Candraprabha story of the *Divyāvadāna* (ed. Cowell and Neil, p. 328). 'Kharaposta' is a Persian name, in which *post* means 'skin' (cf. the Sanskrit borrowing *pusta*, *pustaka*, 'manuscript' or 'book', which was written in Persia on parchment) and the name indicates 'ass-skin'.

*Readings.* Kharapoṣṭr, Kharayo(lo)man (*Indian*). K'ie-lo-pu-su-tu, K'o-lo-lu-ma (Kharaloman), Liu-p'i (ass-skin) (*Chinese*). Boñ-bsruñ-sil (ass-guard—sic) (*Tibetan*).

Daśāsāila (*Indian*). Ch'o-t'o-she-lo (Chardāsāila) ; T'u-shan (vomit-mountain) (*Chinese*). Skyugs-pa-yi-ri (mountain of vomitted) (*Tibetan*).

(58) The correct reading may be *Anūpa-tīre*, i.e. on the river bank in the Anūpa country on the lower Narmadā, of

which the capital was Māhiṣmatī, modern Māndhātā or Maheśvar in the Nimar region. See below.

*Readings.* Ti-li-kiue-to ; San-hu (three-guards—sic), San-mi (three secrets) (*Chinese*). Gsum sbas (three secrets) (*Tibetan*).

A-nou-ho-ti-lo (Anūha-tīra), A-nu-po-ho-ngan (bank of the Anūpa river), A-nu-po-ho-che (by the side of the river Anūpa) (*Chinese*). 'Gram-pa-ldan-nogs (bank of that which has jaw = Hanumat-tīra) (*Tibetan*). See Section 5.

(59) Rauruka is the same as Roruka, capital of the Sauvīra country in the Lower Indus valley lying to the east of the river. It is probably the same as modern Alor (old Aror, Al-Ror) in the Sukkur District of Sind (Pakistan). See *Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India*, ed. Majumdar Sastri, pp. 294ff.

*Readings.* Raudraka (*Indian*). Lu-lou-ko, Lu-lou-kia (*Chinese*). Ho-pu (?) (*Tibetan*).

Po-lo-p'ang-ko-lo ; Fa-kuang-ming (emit-light) (*Chinese*). 'Od-byed (light-make) (*Tibetan*).

60-61. *Nandī ca Vardhanaś = c = aiva nagare Nandivardhane /*

62. *Vāyilo Vāyibhūmiye* 63. *Lampāke Kalahapriyaḥ* || XVIII.

XVIII. Nandin and Vardhana live at the city of Nandivardhana ; Vāyila lives at Vāyibhūmiya, and Kalaharpriya in Lampāka.

(60-61) Nandivardhana of the Buddhist literature has been located by Lévi between Jalālābād and Peshāwar. It was also the name of the early capital of the Vākātakas, which was a city near Ramtek in the Nagpur District of Maharashtra. Hīṅgumardana (grinding of asafoetida), probably another name of Nandivardhana, may suggest its location in the asafoetida-producing Jāguḍa territory in Afghanistan. Asafoetida is also indicated by the words *vāhlika* and *rāmaḥa*, both names being associated with territories in Afghanistan. Lévi says that

Jāguḍa probably lay between Tukhāra and Ramaṭha as suggested by the *Mahābhārata*, III. 51. 1991.

*Readings.* Nan-t'i ; Hi (joy) (*Chinese*). Dga-'ba-can (having joy) (*Tibetan*).

. Po-t'o-na, Po-ta-na, Ch'ang (increase) (*Chinese*). 'Phel-byed (make-increase) (*Tibetan*).

Hiṅgumardana (*Indian*) ; Hing-kiu-po-t'o-na (Hiṅguvar-dhana) ; Hi-yu-ts'uei (grind-*hiṅgu* – Hiṅgumardana) (*Chinese*). Dga'-ba-phel-byed (make-increase-joy) (*Tibetan*).

(62) Vāyibhūmi or Vāyibhūmiya cannot be identified satisfactorily, though there is a place called Vāyigrāma which is modern Bāigrām in the Bogra District of Bangladesh. The correct reading may be *Vāyibhūmiyo* which would mean 'a resident of Vāyibhūmi'.

*Readings.* Vāpila, Vāṣila (*Indian*). P'o-pi-lo (Vāpila), P'o-yi-lu (Vāyila) (*Chinese*). Rluñ-ldan-pa (who-has wind or *vāyu*) (*Tibetan*).

Vāpibhūmiya, Vāyibhūtiya, Vāyubhūmiya (*Indian*). P'o-kiu-ho-pu-mi, P'o-ko-ho-pu-mi (Vāghubhūmi), P'o-yi-ti (*Vāyi-earth*) (*Chinese*). Rluñ-gi-sa (earth of wind) (*Tibetan*).

(63) Lampāka is modern Laghman in Afghanistan.

*Readings.* P'o-ko (Bāka for Pāka – Lampāka), Lan-po (Lampa) (*Chinese*). 'Phun-bar-gyur (fall in ruins—sic) (*Tibetan*).

Ko-lo-ho-pi-li-ye ; Ngai-tou-cheng (love-quarrel) (*Chinese*). 'Thab-dga'-ba (love-quarrel) (*Tibetan*).

64. *Mathurāyām Gardabhako* 65. *Laṅkāyām Kalaśodaraḥ* |

66. *Sūne Sūryaprabho Yakṣo* 67. *Girimaṇḍaś = ca Kośale* ||

XIX.

XIX. Gardabhaka lives at Mathurā and Kalaśodara in Laṅkā ; the Yakṣa Sūryaprabha stays at Sūna, and Girimaṇḍa in Kośala.

(64) Mathurā is the headquarters of a District of that name in Western U. P.

*Readings.* Mo-t'ou-lo, Mo-tu-lo, Mo-t'u-lo (*Chinese*). Bcom-brlag (conquered-killed—sic) (*Tibetan*).

Kie-t'o-p'o-ko ; Kie-ta-p'o and Ye-ta-p'o (Gardabha) (*Chinese*). Boñ-bu (ass) (*Tibetan*).

(65) Lañkā, literally 'an island', may be the same as Ceylon. Siṃhala has, however, been mentioned in Section 159.

*Readings.* Lang-ko, Leng-kia (*Chinese*). Lañ-ka (*Tibetan*).

Ko-lo-shu-t'o-lo ; P'ing-fu (jar-belly) (*Chinese*). Bum-p'ai-lto (belly of jar) (*Tibetan*).

(66) Sūna cannot be satisfactorily identified. Lévi draws our attention to the god Sūna worshipped in Tsao-kiu-ch'a (Jāgudā) according to Hiuen-tsang. Cf. the god Zūr (Sūra, Sūrya) of the Arabs (Ray, *DHNI*, p. 71).

*Readings.* Sūrya (*Indian*). Siu-na, Su-na (*Chinese*). Rab-ñams (very deficient = *s-ūna*) (*Tibetan*).

Siu-li-ye-po-lo-p'o ; Je-kuang-ming (light of the sun) (*Chinese*). Nī-'od (light of the sun) (*Tibetan*).

(67) Kośala (also spelt *Kosala*) is either North Kosala (Oudh) or South Kosala (modern Chhattisgarh region). It is also mentioned separately elsewhere. The variants are not identifiable. See Sections 67 and 94 ; cf. 81.

*Readings.* Hirimandā (*Indian*). K'i-li-wen-t'o (Girimundā) ; P'ing-t'ou-shan (plain-head-mountain = Girimundā), Ou-t'ou-shan (bare-head-mountain) (*Chinese*). Ri-mgo (mountain-head) (*Tibetan*).

Sthūlaka (*Indian*). T'ou-lo-ho (sic) ; Kiao-sa-lo (*Chinese*). Ko-sa-la (*Tibetan*).

68-69. *Vijayo Vaijayantaś = ca vasataḥ Pāṇḍya-Māthure* /

70. *Malaye Pūrṇako Yakṣaḥ* 71. *Keralesu ca Kinnaraḥ* || XX.

XX. Vijaya and Vaijayanta live at Pāṇḍya-Māthura ; the Yakṣa Pūrṇaka lives on the Malaya, and Kinnara in Kerala.

(68-69). Pāṇḍya-Māthura is no doubt the same as Dakṣiṇa-Mathurā, the Pāṇḍya capital, modern Madurai in Tamilnadu.



*Readings.* P'i-sho-ye ; Sheng (victorious) (*Chinese*). Rnam-par-rgyal (much-victorious) (*Tibetan*).

Vijayanta (*Indian*). Pi-sho-yen-to ; Ta-sheng (great-victorious) (*Chinese*). Rnam-rgyal-ldan (having full victory) (*Tibetan*).

Pāṇḍa-Māthura, Pāṇḍu-Māthura (*Indian*). P'an-t'ou-mo-tou-lo (Pāṇḍu-Mathurā), Pan-ch'e (Pāṇḍa), Pan-t'o (Pāṇḍa), Pan-ni (Pāṇḍya) (*Chinese*). Dkar-po-bcom-brlag (pale-conquered-killed) (*Tibetan*).

(70) The Malaya range is identified with the Travancore hills together with the southern part of the Western Ghats.

*Readings.* Mo-lo-ye-shan (*Malaya*-mountain), Mo-lo-ye (*Chinese*). Ma-la-ya (*Tibetan*).

Fen-na-ko, Pu-liu-na (Pūrṇa) ; Yuan-man (all-full) (*Chinese*). Gañ-ba (full) (*Tibetan*). See Section 99.

(71) Kerala (Tamil *Cera*, Greek *Khero*) is roughly identifiable with the Kerala State of today. The variant Kailāsa is a Himalayan peak.

*Readings.* K'i-lo-ko (Keraka), K'i-lo (Kera), Ki-lə-to (Kirāta) (*Chinese*). Ti-se-gans (Kailāsa) (*Tibetan*).

Kin-na-lo (*Chinese*). Mi-'am-ci ('which man?'—sic) (*Tibetan*).

72. *Paṇḍreṣu Meghamālī ca* 73. *Pratiṣṭhāne ca Khaṇḍakah* / 74. *Pitaṅgalyeṣu Saṅkārī* 75. *Taraṅgavatyaṁ Sukhāvahaḥ* / XXI.

XXI. Meghamālin lives in the Paṇḍra country and Khaṇḍaka at Pratiṣṭhāna. Saṅkārī (or Saṅkara) lives in Pitaṅgalya (Pitaṅgala, Pitaṅgali), and Sukhāvaha at Taraṅgavati. The correct form may be *Saṅkara* or *Saṅkarin*.

(72) The Paṇḍra people lived in the northern part of Bengal with their capital at Puṇḍranagara or Puṇḍravardana, modern Mahasthan in the Bogra District, Bangladesh.

*Readings.* Sāṇṭa (*Indian*). P'an-t'o (Pāṇḍa), P'an-ch'a and P'an-na (Pāṇḍa) (*Chinese*). Pon-dra (*Tibetan*).

Mi-k'o-po-ni (Meghapāṇi) ; Hu-yu (guard-cloud=Meghapāla) (*Chinese*). Sprin-gyi-phreṇ-can (having garland of clouds = Meghamālin) (*Tibetan*).

(73) There were more Pratiṣṭhānas than one. A famous Pratiṣṭhāna (now called Paithan) was on the Godāvarī in the Aurangabad District of Maharashtra.

*Readings.* Po-ti-t'o-na, Po-ti-sho-ch'a ; Nganti (peaceful-installation) (*Chinese*). Rab-tu-gnas (excellent-position) (*Tibetan*).

K'an-to-ko, Kien-ta-kia, Kiēn-na-kia (*Chinese*). Dum-bu-ba (making-into-pieces—sic) (*Tibetan*).

(74) Pītaṅgalya and its variants cannot be satisfactorily identified ; but Lévi suggests the identification of the place with Ptolemy's Petirgala which is, in his opinion, modern Pitalkhora, eighteen miles west of Chalisgaon in Khandesh, Maharashtra.

*Readings.* Pi-teng-kia-lo (Pītaṅgala), Pi-teng-kie-li and Pi-teng-ye-li (Pītaṅgali or Pītaṅgalya) (*Chinese*). Pi-taṅ-ga-lya (*Tibetan*).

Seng-ko-li and Seng-kia-li (Saṅkarin), Seng-ko-lo (Saṅkāra) (*Chinese*). Yaṅ-dag-byed (completely-done) (*Tibetan*).

(75) Taraṅgavatī cannot be satisfactorily identified. The section has one syllable in excess.

*Readings.* To-lang-kia-ti and Tan-leng-ye-ti (Taraṅgati) ; Ta-po (big waves—sic) (*Chinese*). Rlabs-dan-ldan (which has waves) (*Tibetan*).

Su-k'o-p'o-ho ; Neng-yin-to (can bring joy), Yin-yo (bring-joy) (*Chinese*). Bde-byed (happiness-make = Sukhakara) (*Tibetan*).

76. *Nāsikye Sundaro Yakṣa* 77. *Asaṅgo Bharukacchake* / 78-79. *Nandikaś = ca Pitanandī viraś = ca Karahāṭake* || XXII.

XXII. ' The Yakṣa Sundara lives at Nāsikya and Asaṅga at

Bharukacchaka (Bhṛgukaccha). Nandika and the heroic Pitanandin live at Karahāṭaka.

(76) Nāsikya is modern Nasik, headquarters of a District of that name in Maharashtra. The grammatical error may be rectified by reading *Yakṣas=c=Āsaṅgo*.

*Readings.* Na-sseu-ko, Na-sseu-kia, Na-sseu-k'i (Nāsika, Nāsikya) (*Chinese*). Sna-nas-byuñ (come-from-nose) (*Tibetan*). Sun-t'o-lo (*Chinese*). Mjes (beautiful) (*Tibetan*).

(77) Bharukacchaka (Bhṛgukaccha) is modern Broach which stands on the mouth of the Narmadā and is the headquarters of a District of that name in Gujarat. It is separately mentioned elsewhere (see Sections 27 and 125).

*Readings.* A-sen-kia (*Chinese*). Ma-chags-pa (without attachment) (*Tibetan*).

Po-lou-ko-tan (i. e. Po-lou-ko-ch'a = Bharukaccha—Yakṣa), P'o-lu-kia-ch'oe (*Chinese*). Gso-ba'i-mtha' (bank of supporter = Bharakaccha) (*Tibetan*).

(78-79) Karahāṭa or Karahāṭaka is modern Karhad in the Satara District of Maharashtra. The variant Nandika cannot be identified, though it may be Nāndikata, modern Nanded in Maharashtra.

*Readings.* Nandike ca (*Indian*) which suggests that Pitanandin was the Yakṣa of Nandika and Vīra of Karahāṭaka. Nan-t'i-ko; Nan-t'i (place), Nan-ni (Yakṣa) (*Chinese*). Dga-'byed (cause-joy—Yakṣa) (*Tibetan*).

Pi-to-nan-t'i; Tseu-nan-ti (son-nandin = Putranandin) (*Chinese*). Pha-dga' (rejoice-father = Pitṛnandin) (*Tibetan*).

P'i-lo, Pi-lo; 'these two Yakṣas' (*Yakṣau* for *vīraḥ*) (*Chinese*). Dpa' (heroes = *vīrau*) (*Tibetan*).

Ko-lo-ho-to-ko, Ko-lo-ko-ki (sic), Kie-ho-ch'a-kia (sic) (*Chinese*). Gser-gyi-lag-pa (hands of gold = *kara-hāṭaka*, which really means 'gold of hand' or 'gold in hand') (*Tibetan*).

80. *Lambodarah Kalīṅgeṣu* 81. *Kośalyām ca Mahābhujah* / 82. *Svastikaḥ Svastikaṭake* 83. *Vanavāsyām ca Pālakaḥ*/XXIII.

XXIII. Lambodara stays in the Kalinga country and Mahābhūja at Kośali (better, Kośalā); Svastika lives at Svastikāṭaka, and Pālaka at Vanavāsī (or, Vārāṇasī).

(80) Kalinga comprised the coastal regions of Orissa and Andhra Pradesh and had its capital originally at Tosali, not far from Bhubaneswar, Orissa. Its later capital was at Kaliṅganagara (modern Mukhalingam in the Srikakulam District, Andhra Pradesh). Kalinga is already mentioned above, Section 37, and below, Section 137; cf. also Sections 145-46.

*Readings.* Lan-fu-t'o-lo; Ta-fu (large belly), Chong-fu (hanging belly) (*Chinese*). Lto-phyan-po (hanging belly) (*Tibetan*).

Kia-ling-kia, Kie-ling-kia (*Chinese*). Ka-liñ-ga (*Tibetan*).

(81) Kośali stands for Kośalā (see variant readings) which was the name sometimes applied to the capital of the South Kośala country in the Chhattisgarh region.

*Readings.* Kośalā, Kauśalyā (*Indian*). Kiu-so-lo, Kiao-so-lo (*Chinese*). Ko-sa-la (*Tibetan*).

Mo-ho-pu-sho; Ta-pi (great arm) (*Chinese*). Nag(Lag)-po-chē (great arm) (*Tibetan*).

(82) Svastikāṭaka cannot be satisfactorily identified.

*Readings.* Sa-ti-ko, So-si-ti-kia (*Chinese*). Dge-ba (happiness) (*Tibetan*).

Sa-ti-ko-ch'a, So-ti-kie-ch'a (Svastikāṭa) (*Chinese*). Dge-ba'i-pho-brañ (place of happiness) (*Tibetan*).

(83) Vanavāsī is modern Banavasi in the North Kanara District of Mysore. A variant reading is Vārāṇasī which is already mentioned elsewhere (Section 17).

*Readings.* P'o-na-p'o-sseu; Lin-chong-chu (to live in the forest) (*Chinese*). Bā-ra-na-se (Vārāṇasī) (*Tibetan*).

Po-lo-ko, Po-lo-kia, So-lo-kia (sic) (*Chinese*). Skyon-pa (protector) (*Tibetan*).

84. *Taṭiskandhe Bhadrakāṇḍaḥ* 85. *Ṣaṭpure ca Dhanāpahaḥ* |

86. *Vairāmake Bala Yakṣa*      87. *Avantyaṁ Priyadarśanaḥ* ||  
XXIV.

XXIV. Bhadrakarṇa lives at Taṭiskandha and Dhanāpaha at Ṣaṭpura; the Yakṣa Bala lives at Vairāmaka, and Priyadarśana in Avanti. Read *Yakṣaṣ=c=Avantyaṁ*.

(84) Taṭiskandha cannot be satisfactorily identified.

*Readings.* To-che-so-kan-t'o; Sai-kien-t'o (Skandha); Tan-che-kien (*taṭi*-shoulder) (*Chinese*). 'Gram-ldan-phun-po (having side-shoulder) (*Tibetan*).

Po-t'o-lo-kan-t'o (Bhadrakanda); Hien-eul (wise-ear) (*Chinese*). Rna-ba-bzañ (ear-beautiful) (*Tibetan*).

(85) Ṣaṭpura and its variants cannot be satisfactorily identified.

*Readings.* So-t'o-fu-lo; Shang-man (constant-full = Satpūra, Sadāpūra), Liu-man (six-full = Saṭpūra) (*Chinese*). Groñ-khyer-drug (six-cities = Ṣaṭpura) (*Tibetan*).

T'o-na-ho-lo (Dhanāhara); Shou-ts'ai (receive-treasures), Sheng-ts'ai (conquer-treasures) (*Chinese*). Nor-gzan-po (treasure-other = Dhanāpara) (*Tibetan*).

(86) As Lévi points out, the *Mahābhārata* (cf. II. 51.12; 52. 13) mentions the variant forms Vairāmaka and Vaiyāmaka. The latter name is to be associated with the Vemaki clan known from coins. It may have been an area about the Kangra valley. See Sircar, *Stud. Ind. Coins*, pp. 208ff.

*Readings.* Pi-lo-mo-ko, Pi-lo-mo-kia, P'i-lo-mo-kia (*Chinese*). Mtha'-ma (end = Virāmaka) (*Tibetan*).

P'o-lo; Yu-li (having force = Balin), K'i-li (vigour) (*Chinese*). Stobs-can (having force) (*Tibetan*).

(87) Avanti is already mentioned above (Section 26). One is not sure that the city of Avanti (i. e. Ujjayinī) is meant here, because Ujjayanī or Ujjayinī is also mentioned in Section 25. To save the author from the charge of careless duplication, one may suggest that one of the two Avantis signified Avanti

proper of which Ujjayinī was the capital, while the other was Avanti-Dakṣiṇāpatha, the capital of which was Māhiṣmatī (not mentioned in the text). There are, however, many cases of duplication in the text ; see, e. g., Vaidīśa in Sections 34 and 89.

*Readings.* A-p'an-ti (*Chinese*). Sruṇ-ba-can (having protection) (*Tibetan*).

Pi-li-ye-t'o-li-sho-na ; Hi-kien (joy-view) (*Chinese*). Mthon-dga'-ba (view-agreeable) (*Tibetan*).

88. Gomardane Śikhaṇḍī ca 89. Vaidīśe c=Āñjalipriyaḥ |

90. Chatrākāre Veṣṭitakas= 91. Tripuryāṁ Makaraṁdamah ||  
XXV.

XXV. Śikhaṇḍin lives at Gomardana and Āñjalipriya at Vaidīśa ; Veṣṭitaka lives at Chatrākāra and Makarandama at Tripurī.

(88) For Gomardana, the correct reading may be Gonardana or Gonarda (see variants) which was a locality in Malwa. See Sircar, *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, 2nd ed., pp. 264ff.

*Readings.* Gonardana (*Indian*). Kiu-kie-t'o-na (Gogardana) ; Niu-hi (cow-joy = Gonanda, Gonandana), Niu-ts'uei (cow-oppress = Gomardana) (*Chinese*). Ba-laṇ'-joms (cow-crush = Gomardana) (*Tibetan*).

She-k'an-ti, She-kien-t'o, She-kien-che (Śikhaṇḍa) (*Chinese*). Gcug-phud-can (having a top-knot = Śikhaṇḍin) (*Tibetan*).

(89) Vaidīśa, mentioned also in Section 34, is modern Besnagar on the Betwa.

*Readings.* Fei-ni-she ; Pi-ch'e-sho (Vidīśā) ; Fang-wei (cardinal points) (*Chinese*). Phyogs-mchams (cardinal points) (*Tibetan*).

An-sho-na-pi-li-ye (Āñjanapriya) ; Ngai-ho-chang (love-join-palm) (*Chinese*). Thal-mo-dga' (palms-happy) (*Tibetan*).

(90) Chatrākāra cannot be satisfactorily identified.

*Readings.* Chatrāgāra (*Indian*). Ch'o-to-lo-kia-lo ; Kai-

hing (umbrella-form) (*Chinese*). Gdugs-dra (umbrella-like) (*Tibetan*).

Pa-she-ti-to-ko, Pi-sho-che-to-kia (*Chinese*). Bkris-pa-po (surrounded) (*Tibetan*).

(91) Tripurī is modern Tewar near Jabalpur in Madhya Pradesh.

*Readings.* Ti-li-pu-lo (Tripura) ; San-t'seng (three storeys) (*Chinese*). Groñ-khyer-drug (city-six—sic) (*Tibetan*).

Mo-ko-lan-t'o-mo, Mo-kia-lan-t'an-mo ; T'iao-mo-kien (vanquish-makara) (*Chinese*). Chu-srin-'dul (aquatic-monster-vanquish) (*Tibetan*).

92. *Ekakakṣe Viśālākṣo*

93. *Aṇḍabhaś = ca Udumbara* /

94. *Anābhogaś = ca Kauśāmbiyām* 95. *Śāntimatyām Virocanaḥ* ||  
XXVI.

XXVI. Viśālākṣa lives at Ekakakṣa and Aṇḍabha at Udumbara ; Anābhoga resides at Kauśāmbī and Virocana at Śāntimatī.

(92) Ekakakṣa, also mentioned in Section 125, may be Ptolemy's Eragassa metropolis (VII. 1.50) located near Mathurā.

*Readings.* Erakakṣa (*Indian*). Yi-ko-kie-ch'a ; Yi-yi (sole-side) (*Chinese*). Chañ-chiñ-gcig (thicket-sole) (*Tibetan*).

P'i-sho-lo (Viśāla) ; Kuang-mu (large-eye = Viśālākṣa) (*Chinese*). Mig-yañs-pa (eye-vast) (*Tibetan*).

(93) Udumbara may be the land of the Audumbara kings whose coins have been discovered in the Kangra region and the neighbouring areas of the Punjab, etc.

*Readings.* Guḍaka (*Indian*). A-lan-p'o (Alamba) ; She-an-ch'a (eat-aṇḍa = Aṇḍabhakṣa) ; An-nan-p'o (Aṇḍabha) (*Chinese*). Sgo-ña-'i-'od (light of egg = Aṇḍabha) (*Tibetan*).

Candanāpura (*Indian*). Cho-lou-t'an-p'o-lo (Cārūdumbarā—sic) ; Wu-t'an-po-lo, You-t'an-po-lo (*Chinese*). U-dum-ba-ra (*Tibetan*).

(94) Kauśāmbī is modern Kosam on the Yamunā, about thirty-five miles from Allahābād. See Section 120.

*Readings.* Mo-ho-p'o-kia (Mahābhāga) (*Indian*). Wu-siang-fen (without reciprocal division = An-ābhāga), Wu-k'ong-yong (without-employment-artificial) (*Chinese*). Lhuñ-gyis-grub (spontaneously realised—sic.) (*Tibetan*).

Vaiśālī (modern Basarh in the Muzaffarpur District, Bihar), Kauśālī (correctly, *Kośalā*; cf. verse above) (*Indian*). Kiu-so-li (Kośālī, i. e. Kośalā); Kiao-shan-p'i and Kiao-shen-mi (Kauśāmbī) (*Chinese*). Ko'u-śam-bi (*Tibetan*).

(95) Śintimatī cannot be satisfactorily identified.

*Readings.* She-ko-mo-ti (Śīkamati); Tsi-ting-yi (peaceful thought) (*Chinese*). Z'i-lan (having peace) (*Tibetan*).

P'i-lou-cho-lo (sic), Pi-lu-cho-na, Wei-lu-cho-na (*Chinese*). Rnam-par-snam-byed (specially shining) (*Tibetan*).

96. Ahicchatre tu Ratikaḥ 97. Kāmpilye Kapilas = tathā |

98. Vakulaś = c = Ojjihānāyām 99. Maṇḍavyām Pūrṇakas = tathā || XXVII.

XXVII. Ratika lives at Ahicchatra and Kapila at Kāmpilya; Vakula resides at Ujjihānā and Pūrṇaka at Maṇḍavi.

(96) Ahicchatra, capital of North Pañcāla, is modern Ramnagar in the Bareilly District, U. P.

*Readings.* A-hi-ch'o-to-lo; She-kai (serpent-umbrella) (*Chinese*). Sbrul-gyi-gdugs (serpent-umbrella) (*Tibetan*).

Caritaka, ca Citraka (*Indian*). Cho-lo-ti-ko (Caratika); Tso-yo (make-joy = Ratikara) (*Chinese*). Dga'-ba-po (happy) (*Tibetan*).

(97) Kāmpilya, capital of South Pañcāla, is modern Kampil in the Farrukhabad District, U. P.

*Readings.* Kan-pi-li, Kien-pi-li, Kien-pi-lo-kia (Kāmpilaka) (*Chinese*). Gyo-ba-'jin (agitation hold = Kāmpila) (*Tibetan*).

(98) Ujjihānā (*Rām.*, II. 71.12) is Ujhānī in the Budaun



District, U.P., according to Agrawala. The Ujjihānas are located about Madhyadeśa (Sircar, *Cosm. Geog.*, p. 91).

*Readings.* P'o-kiu-lo, Po-kiu-lo (*Chinese*). Bak-ku-la (*Tibetan*). See Section 8 above.

C = *Ājihāyanyāṃ* (*Indian*). P'in-she-ho-no (sic) ; Wu-she-ho-na (*Chinese*). Gyen-du-'gro (go rising) (*Tibetan*).

(99) Maṇḍavī is supposed to be Mandawar near Bijnor, U.P.

*Readings.* Maṇḍalī (*Indian*). Man-t'o-p'a (Maṇḍava regarded as a Yakṣa who lived at P'in-she-ho-na along with Vakula and Pūrṇaka), Man-ch'a-pi, Man-na-pi (*Chinese*). Sñin-po-thob-phyed (substance-obtain-half—sic) (*Tibetan*). Cf. Section 40.

Fen-na-ko, Pu-liu-na, Pu-la-na (Pūrṇa, Pūrāna) (*Chinese*). Gañ-ba (fud = Pūrṇaka) (*Tibetan*). See Section 70.

100. *Naigameśas = ca Pāñcālyāṃ* 101. *Prasabho Gaja-sāhvaya* / 102. *Varuṇāyāṃ Dṛḍhadhanur =* 103. *Yaudheya ca Purañjayaḥ* / XXVIII.

XXVIII. Naigameśa (Naigameśa) resides at Pāñcālī and Prasabha at Gaja-sāhvaya ; Dṛḍhadhanus lives at Varuṇā and Purañjaya in Yaudheya.

(100) Pāñcālī may have been a city in the Pāñcāla country which had its capitals at Ahicchatra (Ramnagar in the Bareilly District) and Kāmpilya (Kampil in the Farrukhabad District), both in U. P.

*Readings.* Naigameya (*Indian*). Ni-kia-mi-so, Ni-kia-mi-sha, Ning-kia-mi-sha (*Chinese*). Groñ-rdal-chol-ba (suburb-search = Naigameśa) (*Tibetan*). He was often regarded as Kārttikeya.

Pan-cho-li, Pan-cho-lo (Pāñcāla) (*Chinese*). Lña-mñas (? five-power) (*Tibetan*).

(101) Gaja-sāhvaya is another name of Hastināpura or Hāstinapura, also called Hasti-sāhvaya, Nāga-sāhvaya, etc. The Kuru capital Hastināpura was situated on the Ganges in the present Meerut District, U. P.

*Readings.* Po-lo-so (sic), Po-la-sa-p'u ; Nan-ts'uei (difficult to crush—sic) (*Chinese*). 'Du-ba-mchog (press-excellent—sic) (*Tibetan*).

Rāja-sāhvaya (mistake for *Gaja-sāhvaya*), Gatasākaya (sic) (*Indian*). Kiao-sho, Kie-sho (*Gaja*) ; Ye-tu-so (sic) (*Chinese*). Glan-chen-brjod (elephant-name) (*Tibetan*).

(102) Varuṇa cannot be satisfactorily identified.

*Readings.* P'o-lou-na ; Po-na (sic) ; Shui-t'ien (god of water = Varuṇa) (*Chinese*). Chu-lha'i-yul (country of the god of water) (*Tibetan*).

T'o-li-t'o-ho-t'o-nou ; Kien-che (solid...), Kien-kie (solid—chin=Dr̥ḍhahanu) (*Chinese*). Gzu-bstan (bow-firm) (*Tibetan*).

(103) Yaudheya may be the land of the Yaudheya republic probably covering parts of the East Punjab and the adjoining region of Rajasthan. Johiabar on the Satlaj is associated by some with their name while their inscription has been found in Bharatpur.

*Readings.* Yodhiya, *Yo=py=eva ca* (*Indian*). Yao-t'o (yodha) ; Tou-chen (fight—sic) (*Chinese*). Gyul-'gyed-ldan (fighter) (*Tibetan*).

Pu-lan-sho-na (Purañjana), Pu-lan-she-ye (*Chinese*). Groñ-khyer-rgyal (city-conqueror = Purañjaya) (*Tibetan*).

104-06. *Kurukṣetre ca Yakṣendṛau Tarārka-Kutarārkakau /*  
*Yakṣi kyātā ca tatr=aiva Maholūkhalamekhalā //*

XXIX.

XXIX. The two Yakṣa chiefs Tarārka and Kutarārkaka (Kutarārka) live at Kurukṣetra, and the celebrated Yakṣi Maholūkhalamekhalā also lives there.

(104-06) Kurukṣetra is the well-known holy place in the Ambala District of Haryana.

*Readings.* Kou-lu-ki-to-lo, Ku-lu-ch'an-tan-lo, Kiu-lu-t'u (*Kuru-earth*) (*Chinese*). Sgra-nan-zin=bad-sound(*ku-ru*)-field (*Tibetan*).

Tarakka-Kutarākkaka, Tārkika-Kutarārkika (*Indian*). Kiu-p'o-lo-ko (Kuvāraka), Tan-lo-kia (Taraka), Kiu-tan-lo-kia (Kutaraka) (*Chinese*). The Tibetan translation suggests *Tarārke Kutar-Ārkkakau*, i.e., Kutara and Arkaka were the Yakṣas at Tarārka.

The Chinese translations suggest that there were two Yakṣis at the place, viz. Ta(great)-nu-lu-kia-lo and Mi-k'o-lo, i. e., probably Maholūkhalā and Mekhalā or [Mahā]mekhalā.

107. *Vyātipātinaḥ Siddhārthā Ayāti-vana-vāsinaḥ* |

108. *Siddhayātras=tathā Sruḡhne* 109. *Sthūṇāyām Sthūṇa eva ca* || XXX.

XXX. The Siddhārthas, called Vyātipātins, live in the Ayāti forest ; 'Siddhayātra live in Sruḡhna and Sthūṇa at Sthūṇā.

(107) The forest named Ayāti, in which the Yakṣas named Siddhārtha *alias* Vyātipātin lived, is otherwise unknown.

*Readings.* Pa-ti-ho-ni-nai (*vyātiḥaninaḥ*), P'i-ti po-ti (*vyātipātin*), We-ti-po-ti (*Chinese*). Gnod-par-byed (make suffer) (*Tibetan*). The name *Vyātipātin* is difficult to explain.

Si-ta (sic) ; Ch'eng-tsiu-chong-she (accomplish all things), Yi-ch'eng-tsiu (object-accomplish) (*Chinese*). Don-grub (meaning-realised) (*Tibetan*). The Chinese translations speak of 'in the kingdom of A-ye-ti-po-ye', 'at Aye-ti' and 'in the forest of A-ye-ti'. The Tibetan translation has 'Byun-bar-byed-nags (to forest of taking out—sic). Cf. Section 125.

(108) Sruḡhna has been mentioned with *ś* in Section 38.

*Readings.* Siddhapātra (*Indian*). Si-t'o-ye-to-lo, Si-t'o-ye-tan-lo ; Wang-ch'eng-tsiu (go-accomplished=Siddhayātra) (*Chinese*). 'Gro-ba-drug(grub)-pa (going-realised) (*Tibetan*).

So-lu-k'o-na, Su-lu-kin-na (*Chinese*). 'Gro-'joms (go-kill) (*Tibetan*).

(109) Sthūṇā is mentioned above, Section 2.

*Readings.* Sphalā (*Indian*). So-t'ou-na, Su-t'u-na ; Su-t'u-lo (Sthūlā) (*Chinese*). Ka-ba (pillar) (*Tibetan*).

- 110-11. *Yakṣau Sīṃhabalau yau tu Sīṃha-Vyāghra-balābalau /*  
 112-13. *Koṭivarṣe Mahāsenas=tathā Parapurañjayaḥ || XXXI.*

XXXI. The two Yakṣas called Sīṃhabalābala and Vyāghra-balābala live at Sīṃhabali, and at Koṭivarṣa live Mahāsenā and Parapurañjaya.

(110-11) The Chinese translations suggest that two Yakṣas named Sīṃhabala and Vyāghrabala, having the strength of a lion (*sīṃha-bala*), lived at Koṭivarṣa ; but the Tibetan translation regards Sīṃhabala as the place of the two Yakṣas.

*Readings.* Seng-kia-po-lo (Yakṣa) ; She-tseu-li (force of lion=Sīṃhabala) and Hu-li (force of tiger=Vyāghrabala) having the strength of lion and living at Kotivarṣa (*Chinese*). Señ-ge-stag-stobs-med-byed (lion-tiger-without-force-make) dwelling at Señ-ge'i-stobs (force of lion = Sīṃhabala) (*Tibetan*).

(112-13) Koṭivarṣa is the modern Bangarh in the Dinajpur District of Bangladesh, sometimes identified with Ptolemy's Korygaza.

*Readings.* Kiu-ti-po-li-sha (place), Kiu-che-p'o-li-sha (Yakṣa), Kiu-che-nien (*koṭi*-year—Yakṣa) (*Chinese*). Bye-ba-'dab (myriad-leaf = Koṭiparṇa - place) (*Tibetan*).

Mo-ho-sien-na, Mo-ho-si-na ; Ta-tsiang (great commander) (*Chinese*), Sde-po-che (great leader of army) (*Tibetan*).

A-mo-lo-pu-lan-sho-ye (Amarapurañjaya—locality), Pu-lan-she-ye (place) ; T'o-sheng-kuan (other-conquer-palace = Parapurañjaya) (*Chinese*). Gaz'n-gyi-graṇ-las-rgyal (conqueror of others' city—Yakṣa) (*Tibetan*).

114. *Puṣpadantaś = ca Campāyām* 115. *Māgadhaś = ca Girivraje /*  
 116. *Goyoge Parvato Yakṣaḥ* 117. *Suṣeṇaś = c = aiva*  
*Nāgare || XXXII.*

XXXII. Puṣpadanta lives at Campā, Māgadha at Girivraja, the Yakṣa Parvata at Goyoga and Suṣeṇa at Nāgara.

(114) Campā, capital of the Aṅga-janapada, stood in the suburbs of the modern city of Bhagalpur in Bihar. See above, Section 18.

*Readings.* Fu-po-t'an-to ; Hua-ch'e (flower-tooth) (*Chinese*).  
Me-tog-so (flower-tooth) (*Tibetan*).

Chan-po (*Chinese*). Cam-pa (*Tibetan*).

(115) Girivraja, the old capital of Magadha, was situated about the site of modern Rājgir in the Patna District of Bihar. Rājagṛha and some peaks of the surrounding hills are separately mentioned. Cf. Sections 5, 6, 8, 182, etc.

*Readings.* Mo-kia-to, Mo-k'ie-t'o Mo-kie-t'o (*Chinese*).  
Mñam-dga'-ba (equal-happy—sic) (*Tibetan*).

Wu-shan (five mountains [around Rājagṛha-Girivraja]) ;  
Shan-hing (mountain-march = Girivraja) (*Chinese*). Ri-mñas =  
(mountain = Giri) (*Tibetan*).

(116) Goyoga cannot be satisfactorily identified.

*Readings.* Kiu-yu-k'ru (Yakṣa), Kiu-yu-kia (place) (*Chinese*).  
Ba-lañ-sbyor (Bull's yoke = Goyuga—place) (*Tibetan*).

Kiu-p'o-tu (Kuvata). Po-po-tu (*Chinese*). Ri (mountain =  
Parvata) (*Tibetan*).

(117) Nāgara is difficult to identify. It is probably one of the many places called Nagara. Cf. Sircar, *Some Proplems of Kuṣāṇa and Rājput History*, pp. 81-82.

*Readings.* Siu-t'u-na (Sudhana), Su-she-nu, Su-shai na  
(*Chinese*). Sde-bzañ (army-fine) (*Tibetan*).

Na-kia-lo, Na-kie-lo, Na-ye-lo, Na-kie (*Chinese*). Groñ-  
khyer (city = Nagara) (*Tibetan*).

118. *Virabāhuś = ca Sākete* 119. *Kākandiyām ca Sukhā-  
vahaḥ* |

120. *Kauśāmbiyām c = apy = Anāyāso* 121. *Bhadrikāyām  
ca Bhadrīkaḥ* || XXXIII.

XXXIII. Virabāhu lives at Sāketa, Sukhāvaha at Kākandī,  
Anāyāsa at Kauśāmbī and Bhadrīka at Bhadrīkā.

(118) Sāketa, already mentioned in Section 14 above, was  
a city abutting on Ayodhyā in the Faizabad District, U. P.

*Readings.* P'i-lo-p'o-ho, P'i-lo-p'o-hu ; Yong-pi (brave-arms=Vīrabāhu) (Chinese). Lags-pa-dpa (arms-brave) (Tibetan). For Sāketa, see Section 14 ; cf. Section 123.

(119) Kākandī is modern Kakan under the Sikandra Police Station in the Jamui Sub-Division of the Monghyr District, Bihar. See Sircar, *Stud. Geog.*, 2nd ed., pp. 308-09.

*Readings.* Kākati (Indian). Ko-ti (sic), Ko-kie-ti, Ko-k'ien-ti (Chinese). Kha(Khva)-la-byin (to-crow-give) (Tibetan).

Siu-k'o-p'o-ho ; Neng-yin-ya (can produce joy) (Chinese). Bde-byed (happiness-make) (Tibetan).

(120) Kauśāmbī in the Allahabad District of U. P., is already mentioned in Section 94 above (cf. Tibetan spelling).

*Readings.* Kao-shan-p'i, Kiao-shen-p'i, Kiao-shen-mi (Chinese). Kau-śam-ba, Kau-śam-bhi (Tibetan).

A-na-ye-so ; Wu-lao-kiuen (without fatigue) (Chinese). Chags-med (without passion—sic) (Tibetan).

(121) Lévi thinks that Bhadrīka may be the same as Bhadrāpura (Section 3 above) which he locates near Pāṭali-putra. Agrawala points to Bhadrī in the Partabgarh District, U. P.

*Readings.* Po-t'o-li-ko ; Hien-shen (wise-good) (Chinese). Bzan-po-can (having happiness) (Tibetan). Bhadrīkā and Bhadrīka are the same in translation and transliteration.

122. *Yakṣaḥ Pāṭaliputre ca nāmnā Bhūtamukhas = tathā |*

123. *Aśokaś = c = aiva Kāñcīṣu* 124. *Ambaṣṭheṣu Kaṭaṅkaṭa kaṣaḥ || XXXIV.*

XXXIV. The Yakṣa named Bhūtamukha lives at Pāṭali-putra, Aśoka at Kāñcī and Kaṭaṅkaṭa in the Ambaṣṭha country.

(122) Pāṭali-putra is already mentioned above, Section 1.

*Readings.* Po-to-li-fu-to-lo, Po-ch'a-li (Pāṭali) (Chinese). Skya-snar-can-gyi-bu (the son of someone who has *skya-snar* or Pāṭali flower) (Tibetan).

Pu-to-mu-k'o, P'u-to-mien (*Bhūta*-face) (*Chinese*). 'Byun-po'i-gdon (face of beings) (*Tibetan*).

(123) Kāñcī is the old capital of the Pallavas in the Chingleput District of Tamilnadu. The name of the Yakṣa is interesting because Aśoka or Aśokavarman (possibly the Maurya king Aśoka, c. 269-232 B.C.), is mentioned in the list of the mythical ancestors of the Pallava kings. See Sircar, *Maski Inscription of Aśoka*, p. 8.

*Readings.* A-shu-k'o ; Wu-yu (without sorrow) (*Chinese*). Mya-nan-med (without torment—sic) (*Tibetan*).

Kāñcī, Sāketa (*Indian*). Yi-ko-choe (Ekaca), Kia-shi (Kāśī), Kia-che (Kāca) (*Chinese*). 'Chin-ba (glass—Kāca) (*Tibetan*).

(134) The Ambaṣṭhas (Greek *Abastanoi*, etc.) lived in the Punjab in Alexander's age, but had many settlements in later times in various parts of India, Ptolemy's Geography placing them near Mt. Bettigo or the Malaya range. See Sircar, *Stud. Soc. Adm.*, Vol. I, pp. 106 ff., 318.

*Readings.* An p'o-ch'a, An-p'o-sho-ch'a (*Chinese*). Ma-lagnas (in-mother-live) (*Tibetan*).

Ko-tan-ko-to, Kie-ting-kie-ch'a (sic), Kie-cheng-kie-ch'a (*Chinese*). Śa-thaṇ (who makes all efforts—sic) (*Tibetan*).

125. *Ekakakṣe ca Siddhārtho* 126. *Mandakas=c=Ajitañ-jaye |*

127. *Agrodake Muñjakeśaḥ* 128. *Saindhava Maṇikānanaḥ || XXXV.*

XXXV. Siddhārtha lives at Ekakakṣa, Mandaka at Ajitañjaya, Muñjakeśa at Agrodaka and Maṇikānana in Saindhava.

(125) Ekakakṣa, is also mentioned in Section 92 above, which please see. For the name Siddhārtha also, see above, Section 107.

*Readings.* Bharukaccha, Erakakṣa (*Indian*). Yi-kia-kie-ch'e (Ekakaccha), T'ien-yi (Devakakṣa), A-lo-ko (Alaka) (*Chinese*). Chañ-chin-gc'ig (thicket-unique) (*Tibetan*).

Si-ta (sic), Ch'eng-tsiu-yi (object-accomplished) (*Chinese*). Don-grub (meaning realised) (*Tibetan*).

(126) Ajitañjaya, already mentioned in Section 45 above, cannot be satisfactorily identified.

*Readings.* Mardana (*Indian*). Mi-li-t'ou-ko (Mṛduka); Huan-li (happy = Nandana), Man-na-kia (Mandaka) (*Chinese*). Dman-po-pa (weak) (*Tibetan*).

She-tan-sho-ye (Jitañjaya), Nan-sheng (difficult to conquer —sic) (*Chinese*). Ma-rgyal-rgyal (conquer the unconquered) (*Tibetan*).

(127) For Agrodaka, see Section 29 above.

*Readings.* Agodaka (*Indian*). A-kia-lou-t'o-ko; Sheng-shuei (superior water) (*Chinese*). Chu-mchog (excellent water) (*Tibetan*).

Wen-sho-che-sho, Mang-fa (shaving of hair), Kiai-fa (loosened hair = Muktakeśa) (*Chinese*). Mun-ja'i-skra (hair of *muñja*) (*Tibetan*).

(128) Saindhava is the same as Sindhu which lay in the lower valley of the Indus to the west of the river.

*Readings.* Sien-p'o (= dha)-p'o, Sien-t'o-p'o (*Chinese*). Sen-da-pa (*Tibetan*).

Mo-ni-ko-mo-na (Mañikāmana); Pao-lin (precious-stone-forest) (*Chinese*). Nor-bu'i-nags (forest of precious stones) (*Tibetan*).

129. *Vikaṭaṅkaṭāś — ca ye Yakṣā vasante Kapilavastuni |*

130. *Gāndhārako Vaikṛtiko* 131. *Dvārakā-nilayo Dhruvaḥ ||*  
XXXVI.

XXXVI. The Yakṣas called Vikaṭaṅkaṭa live at Kapilavāstu; Vaikṛtika is an inhabitant of Gandhāra and Dhruva has his abode at Dvārakā. Read *Vikaṭaṅkaṭā ye*.

(129) Kapilavastu, which is a mistake for *Kapilavāstu*, is already mentioned in Sections 9-10 above.



*Readings.* P'i-ko-to-ko-to (Yakṣa), Ch'ang-kin-hu (always-keep-guard) (*Chinese*). Mi-bzan-'gro-ldan-dag (the not-beautiful and the walker—these two) (*Tibetan*).

Ko-pi-lo (who with P'i-ko-to-ko-to lives in Po-so-tou = Vāstu), Kie-pi-lo (the place where the Yakṣa is Ch'ang-kin-hu), Kia-pi-lo-wei (*Chinese*). Mi-bzan and 'Gro-ldan both living at Ser-skyā-yi-gnas (place of the brown) (*Tibetan*).

(130) Gandhāra, comprising the Peshawar District, is already known from Section 55 above.

*Readings.* K'ien-t'o-lo-ko (Yakṣa), Kien-t'o-lo and K'ien-t'o-lo (kingdom) (*Chinese*). Ba-lañ-'jñ (cow-hold = Gāṃdhāra—Yakṣa) (*Tibetan*).

Naikṛtika (*Indian*). P'i-ki-li-tiko; To-hing-siang (many-form—sic.), K'ien-lin (avaricious—sic) (*Chinese*). Gz'an-brñas (hate-other—sic) (*Tibetan*).

(131) Dvārakā is already mentioned in Section 19 above.

*Readings.* T'o-lo-ko (Yakṣa), T'u-ho-lo (Dvāra—residence of Yakṣa), Ni-lo-ye (Nilaya—Yakṣa), Ni-lo-ye-kien (nilaya-shoulder) (*Chinese*). Fu-lou-p'o (Bhruva); T'u-lu-p'o (*Chinese*). Rtag-pa (fixed) (*Tibetan*).

132. *Yakṣo Madhyamakīyaś = ca Saubhadreya Mahāyaśāḥ* /

133. *Vairāṭako Sārapure* 134. *Jambhako Marubhūmiṣu* ||

XXXVII.

XXXVII. The celebrated Yakṣa Saubhadreya belongs to Madhyamaka, Vairāṭaka lives at Sārapura and Jambhaka in the desert country or Maru.

(132) Madhyamaka is apparently the same as Madhyamā or Madhyamikā, modern Nagarī (the latter part of *Madhyamikā-nagarī*) near Chitorgarh in Rajasthan.

V. 1. *Madhyamako yaś = ca* (*Indian*). Mo-ch'a-mo (Maḍa-ma) and Ki-ye-sao (Kiyasa—two Yakṣas); Ch'u-chong (place-middle) (*Chinese*). Dañ-dbu-ma-pa-yi-gnod-sbyin-dag,

i.e., two Yakṣas, viz. [Dhruva] and the Yakṣa of the middle (Madhyamaka) (Tibetan).

*Saubhadre yo* (Indian). Po-t'o-lo-che (Bhadraci—Yakṣa), Hien-shen (wise-well—Saubhadra—place) (Chinese). Bzañ-mjes (beautiful-well—Subhadra—place) (Tibetan).

Mahāyana (Indian). Mo-ho-ye-sho (Yakṣa), Ta-ming-che'ng (great-glory—Mahāyaśāh—Yakṣa), Ming-cheng (glory—in apposition with Hien-shen—Saubhadra; cf. above) (Chinese). Grags-pa-chen-po (glory-great—Mahāyaśāh—Yakṣa living at Bzañ-mjes=Subhadra; cf. above) (Tibetan).

(133) Sārapura is not known from any other source.

*Readings.* Vaidūryaka (Indian). Pi-t'ou-lo-pu-lo (Vidūrapura, regarded as the residence of the Yakṣas mentioned in the previous line), Pi-tu-li-ye (Vaidūrya—place of Mahāyaśāh and Pi-la-ch'a=(Virāṭa—Yakṣa), Fei-liu-ti (Vaidurya—Yakṣa) (Chinese). Dgras-dogs-pa (by-enemy-feared—sic) (Tibetan).

Sarāpura, Dvārakāpura (Indian). So-lo-ch'eng (Sāra-city); Kien-she-ch'eng (strong city—Sārapura) (Chinese). Groñ-khyer-sñiñ-bo (city-essence—Sārapura) (Tibetan).

(134) Marubhūmi may be Maru or the Marwar region of Rajasthan.

*Readings.* Yen(Shen)-p'o-ko, Jan-po-kia, Chan-po-kia ('Campaka') (Chinese). Rmoñs-byed-pa (obscurity-make—sic) (Tibetan).

Mo-lou-pa-mi; Mo-lu-ti (Maru-land); Sha-tsi-ti (full of sandy land) (Chinese). Mya-nan-sa (desert land) (Tibetan).

135. *Yakṣo Vṛndakaṭe khyātas=tathā Vikāṭa ity=api |*

133-38. *Vaimāniko Devaśarmā Daradeṣu ca Mandaraḥ ||*

XXXVIII.

XXXVIII. The celebrated Yakṣa named Vikāṭa lives likewise at Vṛndakaṭa; and Vaimānika, Devaśarman and Mandara live in the Darada country.

(135) Vṛndakaṭa cannot be identified.

*Readings.* P'in-t'o-ko-to, P'in-lin-t'o-kie-ch'a to (house-many—Yakṣa) (*Chinese*). Khyus-'gro place) (*Tibetan*).

P'i-ko-to, P'i-k'ie-ch'a ; Wu-na-cho-kia (Unas two Yaksas P'in-t'o-ko-to and P'i-ko-to lived) (C ruins-pa (cannot be entertained) (*Tibetan*).

(136-38) The Darada country lies in the Kishenganga in Kashmir.

*Readings.* Pi-mo-ni-kio (place of Devaśarma. Pi-mo-ni-kia) (Yakṣa), P'i-mo-ni-kia (*Chinese*). (devoid of pride) (*Tibetan*).

T'i-p'o-shan-mo, T'i-p'o-sho-mo (*Chinese*). I ba (god-affection) (*Tibetan*).

Yu-T'o-lo-to (U-Darada), Ta-la-t'o, Nai-lo-na Jigs-byin (terror-give) (*Tibetan*).

Man-t'o-lo (*Chinese*). Yid-'jigs-pa (m —sic) (*Tibetan*).

139. *Prabhaṅkaraś = ca Kāśmīre* 140. *Caṇḍa*

141. *Pāñcika iti nāmnā tu vasate Kāśmīra-s*  
*Pañca-putra-śatā yasya mahā-sainyā*

XXXIX. Prabhaṅkara lives in Kāśmīra, Caṇḍapura and one bearing the name Pāñcika, whose sons possess big armies and great might, lives at of Kāśmīra. The second foot is metrically defect

(139) The Kāśmīra (Kāśmīra, etc.) country Vitasta valley is still known by its ancient name.

*Readings.* Po-lo-p'ang-ko-lo (cf. Section 59, etc (make-light) (*Chinese*). 'Od-byed (light-make) (Kie-pin, Kie-sho-mi-lo (*Chinese*). Kha-c'i-yul (140) Jaṭāpura is difficult to identify.

*Readings.* Campaka (*Indian*). Chan-po-ko, Chan-po-kia (*Chinese*). Gtum-po (furious) (*Tibetan*).

Sho-to-siu-lo (Jaṭāsura); Kie-ch'a-cheng (Kaṭā-city—Kaṭāpura) (*Chinese*). Ral-pa-can-groñ (having-treasures-city) (*Tibetan*).

(141) The 'junctions of Kāśmīra' probably means the passes leading to the land of Kashmir.

*Readings.* Nāmnena for nāmnā tu (*Indian*).

Pan-che-ko, Pan-che-kia (*Chinese*). Lñas-rcen (with five-play) (*Tibetan*).

Siddhu-saṁdhi (*Indian*). Kie-pin-tsi and Kie-sho-mi-lo-tsi (Kāśmīra-joint) (*Chinese*). Kha-c'e'i-yul-gyi-sa-mc'hams (confines of Kashmir) (*Tibetan*).

142-43. Jyeṣṭha-putraḥ Pāñcikasya vasate Cīna-bhūmiṣu |  
Skandhākṣa iti nāmnena(sic) sa bhrātā Kauśike  
vaset || XL.

XL. That eldest son of Pāñcika, whose name is Skandhākṣa, lives in the Cīna country. [His] brother lives at Kauśika.

*Sa-bhrātā* is not grammatically correct in the sense of 'together with his brother'. A variant reading of the stanza runs as follows : *Skandhākṣa iti nāmnā tu mahā-vīrya mahā-balaḥ/vijñāto*='sau Vasutrātaḥ sa-bhrātā(sic) Kauśike vaset ||

"Vasutrāta, who possesses great vigour and great strength and is known under the name Skandhākṣa, lives at Kauśika together with his brother." Lévi points out that *Vasutrāta* and *Sutrāta* have come from dittography of *sa-bhrāta*.

(142-43) Cīna-bhūmi is the country of China. Kauśika is identified by Lévi with Kuśika (Kucika) of the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, i.e. Kucha in Central Asia.

*Readings.* Che-na=the land of Chong-hia, i.e. China; Che-na-ti (Cīna-land), Ta-T'ang-ti (land of the great T'ang, i.e. China)

(*Chinese*). Kie-ling-kia (Kaliṅga) (Corean). Rgya-yul-gyi-sa (land of China) (*Tibetan*).

So-kan-t'u (Skandha), Wu-pie-t'ou-sing-kao-she (without-separation-head—sic) (*Chinese*). Phrag-pa'i-mig (eye of the shoulder) (*Tibetan*).

Siu-to-lo-ti (land of *Sutrā[ta]*—home of Skandha; cf. *Vasutṛāta*); sometimes a portion including Kauśika is omitted, while elsewhere it is said, 'and all other brothers live at Kauśika'; Kiao-she-kia (*Chinese*). Mjod-ldan (having treasure or *kośa*) (*Tibetan*).

144. *Uṣṭrapādaḥ Kulindeṣu* 145. *Maṇḍalo Maṇḍālāsane* |

146. *Lañkeśvaraś = ca Kāpiśyām* 147. *Mārici Rāmakakṣāyām*  
|| XLI.

XLI. *Uṣṭrapāda* lives in the Kulinda country, *Maṇḍala* at *Maṇḍalāsana*, *Lañkeśvara* at *Kāpiśi* and *Mārici* at *Rāmakakṣā*.

(144) *Kulinda* is the reading suggested by Lévi from a possible *Kuḍinda* (Kiu-c'hen-t'o) in one source, though the reading suggested by the other texts is *Kaliṅga*. The Kulindas probably lived in the Punjab region.

*Readings*. Yu-to po-t'o; Lo-to-tsu (camel-foot), Ya-tsu (tooth-foot = *Daṁṣṭrapāda*) (*Chinese*). Mcha-ba-rkañ (tooth-foot = *Daṁṣṭrapāda*) (*Tibetan*).

Kiu-ch'en-t'o (*Kuḍinda*), Kie-ling-kia (Kaliṅga) (*Chinese*). Ka-liñ-ga (*Tibetan*). For Kaliṅga, see Sections 37, 80.

(145) *Maṇḍalāsana* is not known from other sources.

*Readings*. Man-t'o-lo (Mandara; cf. Sections 36-38 above), Man-ch'a-lo (*Chinese*). Dkyil-'khor (circle) (*Tibetan*).

Man-t'o-lo-so-na (Mandarāsana), Man-ch'a-lo-ch'u (place of *Maṇḍala*) (*Chinese*). Dkyil-'khor-stan (circle-seat) (*Tibetan*).

(146) *Kāpiśi*, also mentioned in Section 166, was the capital of the *Kāpiśa* country in Kafiristan (Afghanistan). It may be the modern Bamiyan.

*Readings.* Lang-che-so-lo ; Kien-tseu-tsai (solid-king), Leng-kia-tseu-tsai (*Lankā*-king) (*Chinese*). Lan-ka'i-bdag (king of *Lankā*) (*Tibetan*).

Kia-p'i-she, Kia-pi-she (*Chinese*). Ka-bu-ša (*Tibetan*),  
(147) *Rāmakakṣā* is not known from other sources.

*Readings.* Mo-li-che ; Kuang-ming (light-shining) (*Chinese*).  
'Od-can (having-brightness) (*Tibetan*).

*Mārī Cīnakakṣāyām* (*Indian*). Lo-mo-k'i-lo (*Rāmakhila*),  
Lo-mo-kio-ts'o, O-lo-mo-lin (forest of *Rāma*) (*Chinese*). Dga-ba'i-chan-chin (side of the pleasing one) (*Tibetan*).

148. *Dharmapālaś = ca Khaśesu* 149. *Bāhlyān c=aiva Mahābhujah* /

150. *Jinaṣabho rāja-putraḥ Śrīmān Vaiśravaṇ-ātmajah* /  
*Yakṣa-koṭi-parivṛtas = Tukhāreṣu nivāsikah* // LII.

LII. Dharmapāla lives in the Khaśa country and Mahābhujah at Vāhli ; Jinaṣabha (or Jinaprabha), the beautiful prince who was the son of Vaiśravaṇa, lives in the Tukhāra country, being surrounded by a crore of Yakṣas.

(148) The Khaśa or Khasa people, who lived in the Himalayas, are supposed to be the same as the Khakkas of Kashmir. The Chinese sometimes confused it with Kashgar in Central Asia.

*Readings.* Ta-mo-po-lo ; Ta-mo-po-mo (*Dharmopama*),  
Shou-fa (guard-law = Dharmapāla) (*Chinese*). Chos-skyon (law-protector) (*Tibetan*).

Kia-sho ; Shu-le (Kashgar) (*Chinese*). Nam-mkha'-sruṇ (sky-guard—sic) (*Tibetan*).

(149) Vāhli is Vāhlika or Bāhlika, i. e. the modern Balkh region of Northern Afghanistan.

*Readings.* Vāli (*Indian*). P'o-ho-li, P'o-k'o-lō, Po-k'ia-lo (*Chinese*). Nan-pa (bad—sic) (*Tibetan*).

Mo-ho-pu-sho ; Ta-kien (great shoulder=Mahāskandha) (*Chinese*). Lag-pa-chen-po (great-arm) (*Tibetan*).

(150) The Yakṣa of the Tukhāra country is called 'a prince' because his father Vaiśravaṇa (Kubera) has the name or title *Mahārāja*. Tukhāra is Tokharistān in the Oxus valley.

*Readings.* Jinaprabha (*Indian*). Sho-no-li-so-p'o, Cheng (Jina)-hie-li-cha-p'o ; Wei-kuang (majesty-light = Jinaprabha) (*Chinese*), Rgyal-ba-khyu-mchog (conquer-bull) (*Tibetan*),

Yu-ki (having luck=Śrīmat) (*Chinese*),

P'i-sha-men (Vaiśravaṇa)-wang-tseu (king-son=rāja-putra) (*Chinese*). Rnam-thos-bu-yi-bu (son of the son of distinct-hear=Vaiśravaṇa) (*Tibetan*). See Section 184.

Śaṅkhara (*Indian*). K'o-lo (Khāra), Tu-ho-lo (*Chinese*). Tho-gar (*Tibetan*).

151-52. *Sātagiri-Haimavata vasataḥ Sindhu-sāgare* /

153. *Trīśūlapāṇis=Tripure* 154. *Kaliṅgeṣu Pramardanaḥ* // XLIII.

XLIII. Sātagiri and Haimavata live at Sindhu-sagara ; Trīśūlapāṇi stays at Tripura and Pramardana in Kaliṅga.

Hi-mo-p'o-to ; Siue-shan (snow-mountain) (*Chinese*). Gaṅs-can (snowy) (*Tibetan*).

Sin-t'ou-so-kia-lo ; Sin-tu-ho-cho (*Sindhu* by side) Sin-tu .. (*Chinese*). Sin-du-yi-rgya-mcho (ocean of *Sindhu*) (*Tibetan*).

(151-52) Sindhusāgara is the confluence of the river Sindhu (Indus) and the sea (Arabian Sea). It was as holy as similar other *saṅgamas* like Gaṅgā-sāgara, Mahī-sāgara, etc.

*Readings.* So-to-k'i-li ; Sa-to-shan (*Sāta*-mountain) (*Chinese*). 'Khor-bcas-ri (circle with mountain—sic) (*Tibetan*).

(153) Tripura reminds us of Tripurī already mentioned in Section 91 above. East Indian Tripurā is not an old name.

*Readings.* Ti-li-shou-lo-po-ni, Che-san-ku (hold three thighs—sic), Chē-san-ki (hold three lances) (*Chinese*). Rca(Rce)-gsum-lag (point-three-hand) (*Tibetan*).

Ti-li-fu-na (sic), San-ts'eng (three-storeys ; cf. Section 91 above) (*Chinese*). Gron-khyer-gsum (city-three) (*Tibetan*).

(154) Kaliṅga is already mentioned in Sections 37 and 80 (cf. also variant in Section 144).

*Readings.* Ko-lin-kia, Kie-ling-kia (cf. Section 37 above) (*Chinese*). Ka-liñ-ka (*Tibetan*).

P'o-lo-mo-t'o-na ; Neng-ts'uei (*Chinese*). Rab-'joms-pa (*Tibetan*). Cf. Section 55.

155. *Pañcālaganḍo Dramiḍe* 156. *Siṃhaleṣu Dhaneśvaraḥ* |

157. *Śukamukhaś = c = Āṭavyāṃ* 158. *Pātāle Kīmkaro vaset* || XLIV.

XLIV. Pañcālaganḍa lives in Dramiḍa (Draviḍa), Dhaneśvara in the Siṃhala country, Śukamukha in Āṭavī and Kiñkara in Pātāla. Read *Āṭavyāṃ Śukamukhaś = ca*.

(155) *Dramiḍa* or *Draviḍa* is the same as *Tamiḷ* ; cf. *Tamiḷaka*, Greek *Damirika*, *Lymirike*. It comprised some of the southernmost districts of India.

*Readings.* Pan-cho-lo-chañ-t'o (Pañcālacandra, Pañcālacanda), Pan-cho-lo-kien-oh'a, Pan-cho-lo-yen-na (*Chinese*). Chigs-lña-ser-po (joint-five-white—sic) (*Tibetan*).

T'o-lo-mei-to, Ta-mi-lo, Ta-mi-na (*Chinese*). 'Gro-ldin (go-float—sic) (*Tibetan*).

(156) Siṃhala, also called Tāmraparṇī (cf. Section 21 above) and Lañkā (cf. Section 65 above), is modern Ceylon.

*Readings.* Sseu-ho-la ; She-tseu (lion) (*Chinese*). Señ-ga-la (*Tibetan*).

T'o-li-she-lo (Dhaneśvara), Ts'ai-wu-tseu-tsai (master of precious things), Ts'ai-fseu-tsai (*Chinese*). Nor-gyi-bdag (master of treasures) (*Tibetan*).

(157) Āṭavī is already mentioned in Section 23 above. The section is short by one syllable.

*Readings.* Ying-wa-mien (parrot-face), Ying-wu-kou (parrot-mouth), Shu-ko-lo-mu-k'o (Śūkaramukha), Po-mien



(white mouth = Śuklamukha) (*Chinese*). Ne-co'i-bz'in (face of a parrot) (*Tibetan*).

Lin (forest); K'uang-ye (jungle; cf. above, Section 23) (*Chinese*). 'Broḡ (jungle) (*Tibetan*).

(158) Pātāla is either the mythical netherworld or Greek Patalene in the Indus Delta, the headquarters of which were at Patala. Vaset has been used in the sense of *vasati*.

*Readings*. Po-lo (sic), Ti-hia (under earth) (*Chinese*). 'Og (below) (*Tibetan*).

King-ko-lo; Ho-so-tso (what to do?—sic), King-kie-so (Kimkasa) (*Chinese*). 'Gro-'am-ci (to go where?—sic) (*Tibetan*).

159. *Prabhāsvaraḥ Puṇḍarīke* 160. Śarmilāś = ca = Mahā-pure |

161. *Prabhañjanaś = ca Darade* 162. *Piṅgalo = 'mbulime vaset* || XLV.

XLV. Prabhāsvara lives at Puṇḍarīka, Śarmilā at Mahāpura, Prabhañjana in Darada and Piṅgala at Ambulima.

(159) Puṇḍarīka is difficult to identify.

*Readings*. Po-lo-p'o-so-lo; Tsuei-kuang-ming (extreme brightness), Yu-kuang-ming (having brightness) (*Chinese*). 'Od-gsal (splendid) (*Tibetan*).

T'o-li (sic), Fen-t'o-li, Fen-t'o-li-hua (flower of Puṇḍarī[ka]), Po-lien-hua (flower of white lotus) (*Chinese*). Pad-ma-dkar (white padma) (*Tibetan*).

(160) Mahāpura cannot be satisfactorily identified.

*Readings*. Śārmalā, Sanirmalā (or *sa nirmalā*), Sa-mei-lo, Sho-mi-lo (*Chinese*). Brce-ba-can (affectionate) (*Tibetan*).

Jatāpura (*Indian*), Cho-mo-lo (Cāmara), Ta-ch'eng (great city) (*Chinese*). Groṇ-khyer-che (great city) (*Tibetan*).

(161) Darada has already been mentioned above, Sections 136-38.

*Readings*. Po-lo-peng-ko-lo (Prabhaṅkara), Tso-kuang-

ming (make-brightness = Prabhaṅkara), Neng-p'o-t'o (can destroy others = Prabhañjana) (*Chinese*). Rab-'jigs-pa (very frightful = Prabhayaṅkara) (*Tibetan*).

Ta-lo-t'o, Yu-lo-sho (Uraśā), Nai-lo-ni (sic) (*Chinese*). 'Jigs-pa-sbyin (fear-give = Darada) (*Tibetan*).

(162) Ambulima has been identified by Lévi with Greek Embolima, which was Alexander's base in his operations against Aornos, and with modern Amb, about sixty miles above Attock. Vaset has been used for *vasatl*.

*Readings.* Ping-k'ia-lo (*Chinese*). Dmar-ser (brown = Piṅgala) (*Tibetan*) See Sections 170, 177.

A-mo li-mo, An-po-li, An-mo-li (*Chinese*). Chu-daṅ-ldan (water-having - sic) (*Tibetan*).

163. *Babbaḍo Babbaḍādhāne* 164. *Mātaliś = c = aiva*  
Kāmada |

165. *Putrīvate Suprabuddhaḥ* 166. *Kāpiśyām Nalaku-*  
*varaḥ || XLVI.*

XLVI. Babbāḍa lives at Babbaḍādhāna, Mātali at Kāmada, Suprabuddha at Putrīvata and Nalakuvara at Kāpiśī.

(163) Vavvadādhāna is unknown from any other source.

*Readings.* Vaccada (*Indian*) Po-po-ch'a, Po-lo sho (Bhalvaja), Mo-mo-na (sic) (*Chinese*). Ba-ba-ta (*Tibetan*).

Po-po-ch'a, P'o-lu-to (Valudva) lin (forest = vana), Mo-mo-na-ts'ang (*Mo-mo-na-receptacle*) (*Chinese*). Ba-ba-ta-bskyed (production of *Ba ba-ta*) (*Tibetan*).

(164) Kāmada is not known from any other source.

*Readings.* Mo-to-li, Mo-tan-li (*Chinese*). Ma daṅ-ldan having-mother - sic) (*Tibetan*).

Ko-po-t'o (Kapada), Kia-mo-ti, Sho-yu (give-desire) (*Chinese*). 'Dod-pa-sbyin (desire-give) (*Tibetan*).

(165) Putrīvata is otherwise unknown.

*Readings.* Putrīvata, Putrīvadha (*Indian*), Fu-ti-li-po-che,

Pu-ti-fa-ti, Pu-ti-fo-ch'a (*Chinese*). Bu-mo-'jug (daughter installation—Putripada) (*Tibetan*).

Shu(sic)-po-lo-fo-to, Shen-kien (well-see), Miao-kio(well-awakened), Ki-kio (totally-awakened). Rab-saṅs (very pure) (*Tibetan*).

(166) Kāpiśi is mentioned in Section 146 above.

*Readings.* Ko-p'i-she, Kia-pi-she (cf. Section 146 above) (*Chinese*). Ka-bu-śa (*Tibetan*).

Na-lo-kiu-po-lo, Nai-lo-kiu-po-lo, Na-ch'a-kiu-wa-lo (Naṭa-kuvara) (*Chinese*). Nal-ku-bar (*Tibetan*).

167 *Pārāśaraḥ Pāratesu* 168. *Śakasthāne ca Śaṅkaraḥ* /

169. *Vemacitraś=ca Pahlave* 170. *Ketakeṣu ca Piṅgalaḥ* // XLVII.

XLVII. Pārāśara lives in the Pārata country, Śaṅkara in Śakasthāna, Vemacitra in Pahlava and Piṅgala in the Ketaka country.

(167) Lassen suggested the identification of the Pārada, apparently the same as the Pārata people of our text, with Ptolemy's Paradene situated in Gedrosia (VI. 21. 4). See *Ind. Alt.*, Vol. I, p. 1028, note. They may have been Parthians settled on the border of India and also within India itself.

*Readings.* Po-lo-sho-lo (*Chinese*). Pha-rol-mtha'-med (other-end-is-not—sic) (*Tibetan*).

Po-lo-to, Po-lo-ti (*Chinese*). Dñul-chu (quick silver=Pārada) (*Tibetan*):

(168) The Indian Śakasthāna (Scythia of the *Periplus*, Indo-Scythia of Ptolemy; cf. also *Harṣacarita*, NSP, p. 239) lay in the Lower Indus valley. It was named in imitation of the Iranian Sakastāna, i. e. modern Seistan. Either of the two Śakasthānas may be meant in our text.

*Readings.* So-ko-so-t'o-na, Sho-kia-ch'u (*Śaka*-place) (*Chinese*). Nus-pa'i-gnas (place of the powerful) (*Tibetan*).

Shang-ko-lo, Shang-kie-lo (*Chinese*). Z'i-byed-pa (calmness-make) (*Tibetan*).

(169) Pahlava seems to have originally meant the Parthian and later the Sassanian empire. Some texts suggest *Bāhlika* which is the same as *Vāhli* mentioned in Section 149.

*Readings.* P'i-mo-che-to-lo, Pi-mo-che-tan-lo (*Chinese*). Thag-thaṅs-ris, Thag-z'aṅs(bzaṅ)-ris (stuff-beautiful-design) (*Tibetan*).

Bāhlika, Bāhlyaka (*Indian*). Po-lo-p'o, Po-la-pi, Mo-li-kia (*Chinese*). Pa-hla-ba (*Tibetan*).

(170) Ketaka (or Kataka) is otherwise unknown.

*Readings.* Ko-to-ko, Kie-to-kia (*Chinese*). Ke-ta-ka (*Tibetan*).

Ping-kia-lo Ping-kie-lo (*Chinese*). Dmar-ser (brown) (*Tibetan*). Cf. Sections 162 and 177.

171. *Puṇḍravardhane ca Pūrṇamukhaḥ* 172. *Karālaś=c=Oḍḍiyā-nake* |

173. *Kumbhodaraḥ Kohaleṣu*. 174. *Maruṣu Makaradhvajāḥ* ||  
XLVIII.

XLVIII. Pūrṇamukha lives at Puṇḍravardhana, Karāla in Uḍḍiyānaka, Kumbhodara in the Kohala country and Makaradhvaḥ in the Maru territory.

(171) The section has two syllables in excess. Puṇḍravardhana (modern Mahasthan in the Bogra District, Bangladesh) was the capital of the Puṇḍra or Pauṇḍra country already mentioned in Section 72 above. We do not believe in the geographical proximity of the places mentioned close to one another in the text, so that it is not possible for us to accept Lévi's location of this Puṇḍravardhana in the north-west of the Indian sub-continent. We do not attach any importance to the Jain tradition regarding a Puṇḍravardhana in Gandhāra (cf. Jacobi, *Ausgew. Erzähl.*, p. 48 ; Charpentier, *Paccekabuddha-geschichten*, p. 121).

*Readings.* Fen-na-po-t'o-na, Fen-ch'a-po-to-na, Pen-na-

wa-ta-na (*Chinese*). 'Phral-ris-'phel (present-part-increasing—sic) (*Tibetan*).

Fen-na-mu-k'o, Man-mien (full-face) (*Chinese*). Bz'in-rgyas-pa (face-full) (*Tibetan*).

(172) Uḍḍiyānaka (i. e. Oḍḍiyāna, also spelt Oḍḍiyāna, Uḍḍiyana, etc., called Wu-ch'ang-na by Hiuen-tsang) is the modern Swat territory in the valley of the Swat river. Sometimes this country is confused with Oḍra or Orissa and is also probably spelt Udyāna. See Sircar, *Stud. Geog.*, 2nd ed., pp. 181ff.

*Readings.* Karābha (*Indian*). Ko-lo-to (sic), Kie-lo-lo (*Chinese*). Ma-run-s-pa (frightful) (*Tibetan*).

Wu-ch'an, Wu-ch'ang (*Chinese*). U-rgyan (*Tibetan*).

(173) Kohala cannot be satisfactorily identified, though the variant *Kauśala* (*Kośala*) is due to a wrong correction.

Wong-fu (jar-belly), Man-t'ou-t'o-lo (Mandodara) (*Chinese*). Bum-lto (jar-belly) (*Tibetan*).

Kauśala (*Indian*). Kao-so-lo, Ku-ho-lo, Kiao-sa-lo (cf. Section 67 above) (*Chinese*). Thoñ-sol-ñan (plough-difficult) = Ku-hala) (*Tibetan*).

(174) Maru is the same as Maru-bhūmi mentioned above in Section 134.

*Readings.* Mo-lou ; Sha-tsi (cf. Section 134 above), 'full of sand' (*Chinese*). Mya-ñan (desert) (*Tibetan*).

Mo-ko-lo-to-sho, Yu... (...fish), Mo-kie-chan and Mo-kie-ch'uang (*Mo-kie-banner*) (*Chinese*). Chu-śrin-rgyal-mchan (aquatic-monster-banner) (*Tibetan*).

175. Citrasenaś = ca Vokkāṇe 176. Ramaṭheṣu ca Rāvaṇaḥ |

177. Piṅgalaś = c — aiva Rāśīne 178. Patnīye Priyadarśanaḥ || XLIX.

XLIX. Citrasena lives in Vokkāṇa, Rāvaṇa in the Ramaṭha country, Piṅgala at Rāśīna and Priyadarśana at Patnīya.

(175) Vokkāna (also spelt *Bokkāna*) is modern Wakhan in the Upper Oxus valley in Afghanistan.

*Readings.* Che-to-lo sien-na, Che-tan-lo-si-na; Chong-chong-kiun (all kinds of armies) (*Chinese*). Sna-chogs-sde (varried army) (*Tibetan*).

Pu-ko-na, Pu-kia-na (*Chinese*). Bo-ka-na (*Tibetan*).

(176) Lévi locates the Ramaṭha country between Ghazni (Jāguda) and Wakhan (Vokkāna) in Afghanistan.

*Readings.* Lo-mo-t'o, Ho-[lo]-mo-ti (*Chinese*). Dga'-dañ-dan (joyous—sic) (*Tibetan*).

Lo-p'o-na, Ho-lo-fa-na, Lo-fo-na; Pi-she (green colour = Piṅgala for which see below) (*Chinese*). Sgra-sgrogs-bu (noisy son) (*Tibetan*).

(177) Rāśina is otherwise unknown.

*Readings.* Ping-kia-lo (cf. Sections 162 and 170), Huang-ch'e-she (yellow-red colour); cf. Section 176 above (*Chinese*). Dmar-ser (brown) (*Tibetan*).

Lo-she-na; P'o-lo-sseu-ye (Varasīya; possibly *Piṅgalas* = *ca Varasīyah*), Ho-lo-she (Rāśi) (*Chinese*). Phuñ-po'i-bdag (ina or master of *rāśi*) (*Tibetan*).

(178) Patniya is unknown from other sources.

*Readings.* Po-ni-ye, Pi-ti-ye (sic) (*Chinese*). Chuñ-mo-can (wife-having) (*Tibetan*).

Pi-li-ye-ch'e-li-sho-na (cf. Section 87 above); Yo-kien (joy-see) (*Chinese*). Mthoñ-dga'-bo (see-joyous) (*Tibetan*).

179. *Kumbhira-yakṣo Rājagṛhe Vipule = 'smīn nivāśikaḥ | bhūyaḥ śata-sahasreṇa Yakṣāṇāṃ paryupāsyate ||* L.

L. The Yakṣa Kumbhira, resident of the very Vipula at Rajagrha, is worshipped moreover by one hundred thousand of Yakṣas. Read *Kumbhiraś* = *ca Rāja*°.

(179) For Rājagṛha, see above, Sections 5 and 8, and for Mt. Vipula, see above, Section 6.

*Readings.* Kin-p'i-lo (*Chinese*). Chu-srin (water-monster) (*Tibetan*).

Wang-sho (king-house ; cf. Section 5 above) (*Chinese*).  
Rgyal-po'i-khab (house of king) (*Tibetan*).

Pi-pu-lo (*Chinese*). Yañs-pa (extended) (*Tibetan*). See Section 6 above.

180. *Ahicchatrāyām Gopālo* 181. *Alako Alakāpure* |

182. *Nandī c = aiva Nandinagare* 183. *Grāmaghoṣe Baliḥ  
sthitaḥ || LI.*

LI. Gopāla lives at Ahicchatrā, Alaka at Alakāpura, Nandin at Nandinagara and Bali at Grāmaghoṣa. Read *Gopālaś* = *c = Alakas = tv = Alakā°* and *Nandī ca*.

(1.0) Ahicchatrā is the same as Ahicchatra mentioned in Section 96 above.

*Readings.* A-hi-ch'o-to-lo (cf. Section 96 above) ; She-kai (serpent-umbrella ; cf. *loc. cit.*) (*Chinese*). Sbrul-gdugs-can (serpent-umbrella-having) (*Tibetan*).

Kiu-po-lo (*Chinese*). Ba-lan-skyon (cow-keep) (*Tibetan*).

(181) Alakāpura may be the mythical city of this name in heaven. Lévi draws our attention to Alakāpura mentioned in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (101.41) and *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, (9. 1265) as a place in the Niṣadha country which we are inclined to locate in the region of Nalapura, modern Narwar in the Shivapuri District, Madhya Pradesh.

A-lo-kia, A-lo-ko (*Chinese*). Lcañ-lo (bunch of hair) (*Tibetan*).

A-ti-ko-pu-lo (sic), A-lo-kia-ch'eng (*Alakā-city*) (*Chinese*). Lcan-lo'i-groñ (city of a bunch of hair) (*Tibetan*).

(182) There were many localities bearing the name Nandinagara. As Lévi points out, Bühler thought that a place of this name mentioned in the Sanchi inscriptions may be modern Nandner not far from Ujjain. The section contains\* one syllable in excess.

*Readings.* Nan-t'i (cf. Sections 60-61 above) ; Huang-hi (joy) (*Chinese*). Dga'-ba-can (joy-having) (*Tibetan*).

Nan-t'i (cf. Sections 60-61 above) (*Chinese*). Dga'-ba'i-groñ (city of joy) (*Tibetan*).

(183) The correct reading for *Grāmaghoṣe Baliḥ sthitaḥ* may be *Gramaghoṣo Bali-sthitaḥ*; but, as a place name, neither *Grāmaghoṣa* nor *Bali* seems to be known.

*Readings.* Kia-lan-kiu-sha; Ts'un-sheng (village-sound), Ts'un-hiang (village-lane—sic) (*Chinese*). Groñ-gyi-lhas (enclosure of city—sic) (*Tibetan*).

Po'-li, Mo-li (sic), Po-li-si-t'o-lo (Balisthira) (*Chinese*). Sṭobs-chen (force-great) (*Tibetan*).

184. *Devāvatāre Vaiśramaṇaḥ sva-saṁnya-paripālakaḥ |*  
*Yakṣa-koṣi-parivṛto Adakavatyāṁ nityāsikaḥ || LII.*

LII. Vaiśrama(va)ṇa, who is the protector of his own forces, lives at Aḍa(la)ka(kā)vati in Devāvatāra.

(184) The first and last feet of the verse have each one syllable in excess while *Vaiśramaṇa* is a mistake for *Vaiśravaṇa* and *Adakavati* for *Alakāvatī* (<sup>°</sup>vṛto = 'ḍaka' may be read for vṛto *Adaka*<sup>°</sup>) which may be the same as the mythical Alakāpura (cf. Section 181 above). Devāvatāra, 'the place where the Buddha descended from heaven by the precious ladder', is said to be Sankāśya, modern Sankisa, 23 miles west of Fatehgarh in the Etah District, U. P.

*Readings.* T'i-p'o-p'-to-lo-na (Devāvatarāṇa); Ts'ong-t'ien-hia (from-heaven-descend), Fo-hia-pao-kiai-ch'u (place where the Buddha descended by the precious ladder) (*Chinese*). Lha-las-babs (descent from heaven) (*Tibetan*).

P'i-sha-men (cf. Section 150) (*Chinese*). Rnam-thos-bu (son of clearly-hear) (*Tibetan*).

A-to-p'an-to-ch'eng (*Atavanta*-city), Ho-ch'a-p'an-to-ch'eng (*Haḍavanta*-city), Hc-na-wan-to-cheng (*Adavanta*-city) (*Chinese*). Lcan-lo-can (buckle-having) (*Tibetan*).



## 3. Index of Sanskrit Names

*N.B.*—The letter *y.* indicates *Yakṣa* (or *Yakṣī*) and *p.* 'place', i.e., the abode of the *Yakṣa* (or *Yakṣī*). The numbers refer to the passages of the text as enumerated by us.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| Aḍaka(lakā)vatī, <i>p.</i> 184                       | Anūpa-tīra (Hanūmā-tīra),<br><i>p.</i> 58   |
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## IBN BATUTAH'S ACCOUNT OF BENGAL

Translated from Arabic by HARINATH DE\*

### *Introduction.*

*Life of Ibn Batutah.* "Abu, 'Abdallah Muhammad son of Muhammad son of 'Abdallah al-Lawwati at-Tanji ibn Batutah was born in 703 A. H. (1303 A.D.). In 725 A.H. (1325 A.D.), he started from his native city of Tangier and travelled through Africa and the greater portion of Asia. On the completion of his pilgrimage, he traversed Syria, Iraq, Persia, Mesopotamia and Asia Minor after visiting Qypchaq, Southern Russia and Constantinople. Then passing through Asia Minor, Bukhara and Afghanistan, he went to Delhi and remained there for two years as a Qazi. Thereupon he was entrusted with a mission to China by Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq ; but he came only

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\* [In 1898 while he was a student at Cambridge, Harinath De stayed sometime in Egypt to improve his knowledge of Arabic and he ventured to translate a number of poems from the *Qasida Lamiya* into English. Steingass, author of Arabic and Persian Dictionaries, wondered at Harinath's sound knowledge of Arabic as well as of Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Old and Middle High German. Harinath's genius found expression in a variegated programme of work including the decipherment of some copper-plate inscriptions in Arabic, metrical translations of *Bānat Su'ad* (the celebrated poem of K'ab, son of Zubair) and a number of Arabic poems. While George Nathaniel Curzon visited Dacca, Harinath prepared for him the subjoined translation of an account of Bengal from the original Arabic of Ibn Batutah with an eloquent dedication in Latin dated the 18th February, 1904 :

*Cum tot sustineas et tanta negotia solus,  
Imperio hanc terram tuteris, moribus ornes,  
Legibus emendes : in publica commoda peccem  
Si longo sermone morer tua tempora, caesar.*

—Sunil Bandyopadhyay]

as far as the Maldives where he again acted as Qazi for a year and a half, Then he visited Ceylon and China and returned home in 750 A. H. (1349 A. D.). After making a trip to Granada in A. H. 750, he undertook a journey to the Sudan in the following year and visited Melli and Timbuctoo. He died in Morocco in A. H. 779 (1377 A. D.).” Translated from Brockelmann’s *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur*.

Ibn Batutah, as we are told by the Berber historian Ibn Khaldun (*Prologomena*, Vol. I, pp. 327-28), dictated, on his return to Morocco at the request of the Merindite Prince Abu ‘Inān Faris, a description of his travels to Muhammad Al Kalbi (about 1356 A. D.) who abridged the work, edited and published it.

It was again abridged by Al Bailuni whose abridgement was translated into English by Samuel Lee under the misleading title *The Travels of Ibn Batutah* (London, 1829). The subjoined account of Bengal has been translated from the larger work of Ibn Batutah.

#### BENGAL (1340 A. D. )

We remained upon the sea 43 nights, after which we reached Bengal,<sup>1</sup> which is an extensive country abounding in rice. I never saw in the world a country in which the market rates are cheaper. But its atmosphere is covered with darkness and the people of Khorasan call it a Hell replete with benefits. (*duzakh ast pur-i-ni’amat*).

I saw rice selling in its markets at the rate of 25 *rithls*<sup>2</sup> of Delhi for one *dinar* of silver, and the *dinar* of silver is equal to 8 *dirhams*,<sup>3</sup> and their *dirham* is exactly equal in value to our

1 I. e., from the Island of Mahal in the Maldives.

2 A *rithl* of Delhi=25 *rithls* of Maghrib (North-Western Africa). [ But see p. 331.—Ed. ] A *rithl* of Maghrib is approximately equal to  $1\frac{3}{4}$  seers.

3 A *dirham* (from the Greek *drachma*) is approximately equal to a franc (10 d.).

*dirham* of silver. And the *rithl* of Delhi is equal to 20 *rithls* of Maghrib. I have heard people say that the above mentioned price of corn was rather dear for them.

Muhammad al-Masmudi al-Maghribi, a good man who had formerly resided in this country, and subsequently died at my house at Delhi, related to me that he had a wife and a servant and that he used to pay for the annual provision for the three of them eight *dirhams* [only], and that he used to purchase paddy at the rate of 80 *rithls* of Delhi for 8 *dirhams*. And that after threshing that quantity of paddy he would get from it clear fifty *rithls* of rice, amounting to 10 *kantarahs*. I have also seen a milch cow selling for three *dinars* of silver and the bullocks of this country [which] are like buffaloes. I have seen fat poultry selling at the rate of eight per *dirham* and chicks of pigeons at the rate of fifteen per *dirham*. I have seen a fat ram sold for two *dirhams* and a *rithl* of sugar for four *dirhams*—I mean a *rithl* of Delhi—and also a *rithl* of rose-syrup for 8 *dirhams*, and a *rithl* of fat ( ? *ghee* ) for four *dirhams* and a *rithl* of mustard oil for two *dirhams*.

A cloth of fine cotton of very good quality measuring thirty cubits was sold before my eyes for two *dinars*, and a good looking maid servant for a *dinar* of gold which is equivalent to  $8\frac{1}{2}$  gold *dinars* of Maghrib.

I bought for about the same price a young slave girl of exquisite beauty called Ashurah and one of my companions bought a fine looking slave of tender years named Lulu ('Pearl') for a couple of gold *dinars*.

The first city of Bengal which we visited was the city of *Sodkawan* (Satgaon).<sup>4</sup> It is a large city situated on the shore

<sup>4</sup> Sodkawan is Satgaon and not Chatgaon (Chittagong) as is clear from the description which follows. "Satgaon or Saptagram ('the Seven Villages') was a place of importance till the 16th century. It owed its prosperity to its situation on the Sarasvati which was formerly the main stream of the

of the great sea (Bay of Bengal). Close to it is the confluence of the River Ganges to which the Hindus go for pilgrimage, and the river Jun (Jamuna), and not far from it, the two rivers fall into the sea.

On the river Ganges are numerous ships belonging to the people of the country, wherewith they fight the inhabitants of the country of Lakhnauti.<sup>5</sup>

Bhagirathi. At Tribeni, North of Hugli, the river sends forth two branches, one to the west under the name of Sarasvati and one to the east which is called Jamuna or Jabuna. The entrances of both branches are now silted up, and the Jamuna only becomes important again in the southern portions of the 24-Parganas. Abul Fazal says in the *Ain-i-Akbari*: 'Near the place Kazihata in Barbakabad, the Ganges divides into two parts—one goes eastward and flows into the ocean near Chatgaon, and in this separation is called Padmavati, the other goes southwards and divides again into three parts, one being called the Sarasvati, the other the Jon (Jamuna), the third Ganga. The three are called in Hindi Tribeni ('the Three Streams') and are held in veneration. The third (i. e., the Ganga, the modern Hugli) becomes, near Satgaon, a thousand channels and then joins the sea. The Sarasvati and Jamuna also flow and then join the sea. In the early period of the Muhammadan rule, Satgaon was the seat of the Governors of Lower Bengal and the mint town. Its importance as a place of trade and shipping is well attested, and even a modern Bengali proverb uses the term 'a Satgaon man' in the sense of 'an astute fellow'.—Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*.

N.B. In a note to his extremely useful translation of the *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, Maulavi Abdus Salam, M. A., confuses Ibn Batutah's *Sodkawan* with modern Chatgaon. See p. 41 (footnote) of fasciculus L of his translation: "Chittagong was found to be in the hands of king Fakhruddin of Sunargaon, when Ibn Batutah visited it." [Whether Ibn Batutah refers to Chittagong or Satgaon still remains controversial due to some ambiguity in his statements.—Ed.].

5 The city of *Lakshmanavati* or Lakhnauti was conquered by the Muhammadans in 1198 A. D. and was their first capital in Bengal. When the Muslim kings of Bengal became independent, they removed their capital to Sunargaon and Panduah. Panduah was soon deserted on account of its unhealthiness; but Sunargaon continued to be the capital of Eastern Bengal. In the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Abul Fazl states that in his time the city was known both as Lakhnauti and Gaur and the latter name was changed by the Emperor Humayun into 'Jannatabad' ('the celestial city').

*An Account of the Sultan of Bengal.* He is Sultan Fakhruddin, surnamed Fakhra, an excellent king who is fond of foreigners, especially of Fakirs and Sufis. The government of this country was in the hands of Sultan Nasiruddin, son of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban. This king made his son Muizzuddin the ruler of Delhi and subsequently made preparations for fighting with him.<sup>6</sup> The father and the son met on the river Ganges and their meeting was called an auspicious conjunction.

6 The following sketch of the sovereigns of Bengal will elucidate the passage. In A. H. 664, Ghiyasuddin Balban ascended the throne of Delhi. Shortly after his accession the independent ruler of Bengal Muhammad Tatar Khan died, whereupon Ghiyasuddin appointed Sher Khan as Governor of Lakhnauti. Sher Khan was succeeded in his office by Amin Khan whose deputy Tughral, taking advantage of Balban's illness, made himself master of Bengal and assumed the title of Sultan Mughisuddin (1279 A. D.). On his recovery, Balban invaded Bengal and, defeating Tughral near Sonargaon, made his own son Bughra Khan Sultan of Bengal. This prince assumed the title of Sultan Nasiruddin. In A. H. 691 occurred the death of Sultan Nasiruddin (five years after Balban's death). After the death of Balban in 1287 A. D., Nasiruddin's son Muizzuddin Kaiqubad became Emperor of Delhi and was, after his accession, following the evil counsels of one of his courtiers, Malik Nizamuddin, who advised the youthful prince to put to death his (Muizzuddin's) own brother. Greatly enraged at this, Nasiruddin wrote several letters to his son but to no purpose. At length in A. H. 687, Nasiruddin marched with an army towards Delhi in order to chastise his disobedient son and to conquer the province of Delhi. The father and the son met on the banks of the river Ganges at Corah. "They had resolved to fight against each other; but God wished to spare the blood of Mussulmans and filled the heart of Nasiruddin with pity for his son. The interview between the father and the son which took place on the banks of the Ganges was called the conjunction of two auspicious planets in as much as it resulted in their sparing the blood of their subjects. This event was celebrated by the poets of the time, [notably by Mir Khusru of Delhi (1253-1325 A. D.) in his *Qiran-us-Sa'dain* or 'The Auspicious Conjunction']". Such is Ibn Batutah's account of the incident. Nasiruddin was succeeded by his son Ruknuddin Kaikawus (A. H. 691) who was succeeded by his brother Shamsuddin in A. H. 702 (1302 A. D.). Shamsuddin was succeeded in A. H. 718 by his son Shahabuddin, whose kingdom was taken away from him by his paternal



We have already related how the father left the government to the son and, returning to Bengal, remained in that country till his death and was succeeded by his son Shamsuddin after whose death his son Shahabuddin ruled. This king was overcome by his [father's] brother Sultan Ghiyasuddin Bahadur Bur. Thereupon Shahabuddin asked help from Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq who helped him and took Bahadur Bur prisoner. Subsequently, Bahadur Bur was liberated by Muhammad, son of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq, after Muhammad's accession, on the stipulation that Ghiyasuddin would give him a share of the kingdom of Bengal. But Bahadur Bur revolted against Muhammad and the latter fought against him, and killed him. Thereupon he appointed a relation of his by marriage as Governor of Bengal; but the man was killed by his own troops. Ali Shah, who was at that time in the country of Lakhnauti, made himself master of Bengal. When Fakhruddin saw that the kingdom had passed out of the hands of the children of Sultan Nasiruddin (Fakhruddin had been one of the freed men of the family) he raised the standard of revolt at Sodkawan and in the country of Bengal and declared himself independent.

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uncle Ghiyasuddin Bahadur Bourah (i. e., 'Black', such is the meaning of the word according to Ibn Batutah). Shahabuddin regained his throne with the help of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq who captured Bahadur Bourah and kept him in prison. On the accession of Muhammad Shah Tughlaq, the nephew and son-in-law of Emperor Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq, in A. H. 725, Bahadur Bourah was liberated on certain conditions; but he was subsequently dethroned in A. H. 731 (1330 A.D.) and the emperor appointed Malik Bedar Khilji, one of his leading nobles upon whom he bestowed the title of Qadr Khan, as Governor of Lakhnauti. In 739 A. H. (1338 A.D.), Qadr Khan was killed by Fakhruddin, the armour-bearer of the recently deceased Sultan of Sonargaon whose name was Bahram Khan. Fakhruddin was the first of the Independent Mussalman kings of Bengal whose period lasted for two hundred years—from 1338 to 1538 A. D. His full name was Fakhruddin Abul Muzaffar Mubarak Shah. He was killed in the year 741, A. H. after a reign of two years and five months by Malik Ali Mubarak (Ibn Batutah's Ali Shah), the generalissimo of Qadr Khan. [The same word or name is given as both 'Bur' and 'Bourah'. Muhammad Shah was Ghiyasuddin's son.—Ed.]

The strife between him and Ali Shah grew rife, and whenever the season of cold and mud would come, Fakhruddin would invade the country of Lakhnauti by sea, for it was on sea that he was powerful ; but when the season would come when there would be no rain, Ali Shah would invade Bengal by land, for it was on land that he was powerful.

*A Story.* The love which Sultan Fakhruddin had for the Fakirs went so far as to lead him to appoint one of them as his viceroy at Sodkawan (Satgaon). This man was named Sharda ('Love-mad'). The Sultan having gone out to fight against one of his enemies, Shaida revolted against him with a view to make himself independent and killed the only son of Sultan Fakhruddin.

Fakhruddin, being informed of this disaster, marched back to his capital whereupon Shaida and his followers fled towards the city of Sonorkawan (Sonargaon)<sup>7</sup> which is impregnable. The Sultan sent his army to besiege him. Thereupon the inhabitants of the city, fearing for their own lives, seized Shaida and sent him to the army of the Sultan and reported the matter to him in writing.

The Sultan ordered them to send him the head of Shaida, which they did. A large number of Fakirs were put to death on account of Shaida's crime.

When I entered Sodkawan I did not visit the Sultan of the

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<sup>7</sup> Sonargaon (Suvarnagrama or the Golden Village) was the ancient capital of Eastern Bengal under the Muhammadan rulers. It is an unhealthy village now-a-days. Ralph Fitch who visited this place in 1686 gives the following account of it : "Sinnergau is a town six leagues from Serripur (Sripur) where there is the best and finest cloth made in all India. The houses here, as they be in most parts of India, are very little, and covered with straw, and have a few mats round about the walls, and the door to keep out the tigers and the foxes. Many of the people are very rich. Here they will eat no flesh, nor kill any beast. They live on rice, milk, and fruits. They go with a little cloth before them and all the rest of the body is naked."

country nor did I seek an interview with him because he had revolted against the Emperor of India and, being afraid of the probable consequences of my paying a visit to him, I left Sodkawan for the mountains of Kamaru (Kamrup)<sup>8</sup> which is a month's journey on foot, from Sodkawan. These mountains are very extensive and touch China and Tibet, the country of musk-deer. The people who dwell in these mountains resemble the Turks. They make very hardy servants and a slave belonging to this tribe is worth many times more than a slave belonging to any other tribe. Moreover, these mountaineers are famous for their skill in sorcery and their devotion to that art. My object in travelling to these mountains was to visit a very holy person who lives there, viz. Shaikh Jalaluddin at-Tibrizi.<sup>9</sup>

*Account of Shaikh Jalaluddin.* He was one of the greatest saints and a most unique man. He performed famous miracles as well as great and memorable deeds. He was a man far advanced in years. He informed me (*May God have mercy on him !*) that he had seen the Abbasid Caliph Musta'asim Billah at Bagdad and that he was in that city at the time of the Caliph's assassination (1258 A. D.). Subsequently, his disciples informed me that the Shaikh died at the age of 150 ; that he had been observing the fast for about forty years and was not in the habit of breaking it until after the lapse of ten consecutive days. He had a cow, with the milk of which he used to break his fast. He would remain standing all night. He was a lean, tall man, with sunken cheeks. Through his efforts

8 Kamrup included the western portion of Assam together with the Districts of Rangpur, Rangamati (Goalpara) and Sylhet.

9 Nothing definite seems to be known about this saint. He must, however, be distinguished from his namesake and fellow-townsmen and disciple of Shaikh Abu Sa'id Tibriz, who came to Delhi in the reign of Sultan Shamsuddin Altamish [Iltutmish—Ed.] and died in A. H. 642 (1244 A. D.) nearly a century before Ibn Batutah's arrival in Bengal.

many of the mountaineers became converts to Islam and this was the motive which led him to dwell in their midst.

*Miracles of the Shaikh.* Some of the Shaikh's disciples informed me that he called them the day before his death and enjoined them to fear God and said to them : "Verily, I shall go away from you tomorrow, if it so please God, and my successor with you is God than whom there is no other God." When he said the mid-day prayer on the following day, God took him away exactly at the last prostration of that prayer. At the side of the cell in which he dwelt they found a grave which had been dug and upon which there lay a winding-sheet and incense. They washed his body, wrapped it round with the winding sheet, offered prayers upon him and buried him in the tomb. May God have mercy on him !

*Another Miracle of the Shaikh.* When I went to visit this Shaikh, I was met by four of his disciples at a distance of two days journey from the place where the Shaikh used to live. They informed me that their Shaikh had said to the Fakirs who were with him, "The traveller of the west has come to you, go ye to meet him." They added that they had come for that purpose in pursuance of the Shaikh's injunction. Now this Shaikh knew nothing about my affairs ; but they had all been revealed to him.

So I went with these men to the Shaikh and reached his hermitage which is outside his cell. Near it there is no cultivated land ; but the people of that country—Mussalmans as well as Non-Mussalmans—come to visit him and bring with them gifts and presents which supply food to the Fakirs and to the travellers who arrive there. As for the Shaikh, he is content with the possession of a cow with the milk of which he breaks his fast at the end of every tenth day, as we have already mentioned. When I came to him he rose up and embraced me and asked me questions concerning my country and my travels.

On my giving him the information desired, he said to me, "Thou art the traveller of the Arabs." "And of the Persians too, O Master," added those of his disciples who were present. Thereupon he said, "Yes, of the Persians too ; treat him therefore with respect." And I was brought to the hermitage and entertained with hospitality for three days.

*Anecdote containing the Account of Several of the Shaikh's Miracles.* On the day on which I was presented to the Shaikh, I saw on him a large coat of goat-skin which took my fancy. And I said to myself, "Would to God, the Shaikh gave it to me." When I went to him to wish him goodbye, he got up and going to a corner of his cell took off his coat and put it on me together with a high cap from his head ; while he himself put on a patched garment. I was told by the Fakirs that the Shaikh was not in the habit of putting that coat on ; and that he had put it on as soon as I had arrived. They added that he had told them : "The Maghribi will ask for this coat and it shall be taken away from him by a non-Mussalman king who will give it to our brother Burhanuddin Assagharji to whom it belongs and for whom it is intended." When the Fakirs told me of this I said to them : "I have got the blessing of the Shaikh, since he has put his own coat upon me and I shall not visit any Mussalman or non-Mussalman king with this coat on my back." I left the Shaikh and long afterwards, when I entered the country of China and reached the city of Khansa ('Quinsay' or 'Hang-chi-fu'), the accident actually happened to me. My comrades had separated from me owing to the crowd (which was pressing upon us, and I had that coat upon me. Now while I was in a certain street, lo ! I saw the Vizier who was there at the head of a large retinue, and his glance fell upon me. Thereupon he sent for me, took me by the hand and asked me about my arrival and did not let me go until I reached the royal palace with him. I intended to get away

from him : but he prevented me and took me along to the king who asked me questions about Mussalman sovereigns. When I was replying to him, he looked at my coat and took a fancy to it. Thereupon the Vizier said to me : "Take it off", and I durst not act against his order. The king took the coat and ordered that ten robes of honour should be given to me as well as a fully equipped horse and a sum of money. My mind was displeased at this and then I called to mind what the Shaikh had said, viz., that the coat would be taken away from me by a non-Muhammadan king. My surprise became great on account of this, and in the following year, I entered the palace of the king of China at Khan Baliq (Canbaluc, i. e., Pekin) and betook myself to the hermitage of Shaikh Burhanuddin Assagharji. I found the Shaikh busy reading and the coat was on him—the very same coat. Surprised thereat, I began to examine the coat with my fingers. He asked me why I was examining it and said ; "So you know it." I replied, "Yes, this is the coat which was taken away from me by the Sultan of Khansa." "This robe", he added, "had been made for me by my brother Jalaluddin who wrote to me, 'The robe shall reach thee through the hands of such and such person'." Then he took out the letter and gave it to me. I read it and was filled with wonder at the infallible foreknowledge of the Shaikh. I then related to him the first part of the anecdote and he said to me, "My brother Jalaluddin is a greater man than all that. He has lately departed to the mercy of God." "I have been informed", added the Shaikh, "that he used to say his morning prayers every day at Mecca and would perform a pilgrimage (to Mecca and Madina) every year, for he used to disappear from men on the two days of Arafat and Id and no one knew where he used to go." When I took leave of Shaikh Jalaluddin, I journeyed towards the city of Habank which is one of the largest and most beautiful cities of that country. It is intersected by a river which descends from the

LECTURES AT THE CENTRE OF  
ADVANCED STUDY

XXV\*

*Lecturer* : Prof. D. C. Sircar, University of Calcutta

*Subject* : Introduction to Indian Palæography.

*Date* : Wednesday, the 25th November, 1970.

*Present* : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph. D. (in the chair) ; Dr. D.R. Das, M.A., D.Phil. ; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil. ; Sm. C. Gupta, M.A., LL.B. ; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D. Phil., Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil. ; Dr. A.K. Chatterjee, M.A., D. Phil. ; Dr. S. P. Singh, M.A., D. Phil. ; Sri B. P. Mishra, M.A. ; Dr. Sm. J. Maitra, M.A., Ph. D. ; Sm. K. Bajpeyi, M. A. ; Sri A. K. Jha, M. A. ; Sm. S. Das, M. A. ; Sm. M. Mukhopadhyay, M. A. ; Sri R. K. Billorey, M. A. ; and others.

*Summary* : Prof. Sircar first referred to his unpublished work entitled *Indian Palaeography*, in which the subject covered by the lecture is dealt with in some detail. In the lecture, Prof. Sircar discussed the subject under the following sections : (I) Early Writings, (II) Varieties and Early Derivatives of Brāhmī, (III) Development of the Northern Alphabets, (IV) Development of the Southern Alphabets, (V) Numbers and Signs (VI) Engraving of Inscriptions, and (VII) Indian Scripts Abroad.

Dealing with early writings, Prof. Sircar referred to the controversy regarding the antiquity of writing in India and referred, in the same context, to the underciphered seals found at the prehistoric sites of Mohenjodaro, Harappa, etc. He also referred to the various attempts to read the seal legends and observed that their correct decipherment is delayed owing to the lack of bilingual and bicultural documents. Prof. Sircar then dealt with the Aramaic and Greek writings in some early Indian epigraphic and numismatic records. Speaking about the two early Indian scripts, viz. Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī, he said that the former, originated from the Aramaic alphabet of Iran, was used mainly in the north-western parts of the Indian sub-continent. Prof. Sircar referred to the controversy regarding the indigenous or foreign origin of Brāhmī and expressed his inclination to regard the alphabet as fabricated out of the prehistoric Indian writing which is partly syllabic and partly alphabetic.

Prof. Sircar then gave a brief history of the modification of Early Brāhmī

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\*Continued from Vol. IV, pp. 286-97 (XIX-XXIV).

from the Maurya period down to the late mediaeval times through its Middle and Late stages and its various derivatives including the regional alphabets of India. He also spoke about the triangle-headed, box-headed, Siddhamātrkā, shell-character and Bhaikṛī scripts. Prof. Sircar indicated the causes responsible for the gradual change in the shape of letters. He then traced the development of the various Northern alphabets including Early Nāgarī and Gauḍī (the same as Bühler's 'Proto-Bengali') and the Kalinga alphabet of Orissa. He also discussed the various derivatives of Gauḍī, e. g. Rañjā (Rañjanā) and Varttula of Nepal and the Maithilī of Bihar and also the Oriya and Bengali-Assamese scripts.

Regarding the South Indian alphabets, Prof. Sircar discussed their evolution from Early Brāhmī. He discussed in this connexion not only South Indian scripts like Telugu, Kannaḍa, Tamil, Grantha, Vaṭṭeḷuttu, Koleḷuttu and Malayāḷam, but Siddhamātrkā and Nāgarī of North India and also Nandināgarī in the Deccan and the Far South. He then traced the origin of the various numbers and signs used in ancient epigraphs and manuscripts and was inclined to claim the Indian origin for the decimal system of expressing numbers and traced its influence in a U. P. epigraph of 428 A. D. even though the system is not mentioned by Āryabhaṭa who wrote at Pāṭaliputra in 499 A. D.

Prof. Sircar also discussed how the engraving of inscriptions was done in ancient India. As regards the spread of Indian scripts abroad, he observed that the modern scripts of Ceylon, Burma, Indonesia, Thailand, Cambodia and Tibet all owe their origin to Brāhmī.

*Discussion* : Dr. A.K. Chatterjee thanked Prof. Sircar for his refreshingly stimulating lecture, and Dr. D. R. Das observed that, when published, the lecture, will be useful to the students. Sm. C. Gupta wanted to know why the so-called shell-character inscriptions could not be deciphered. Prof. Sircar replied that the shell-characters do not constitute an alphabet, but are really ornamental forms of the prevalent local alphabet. He pointed out that they are often too much ornamental so that the original *akṣaras* cannot be recognised and that the writing can be deciphered when there is not too much ornamentation. [See above, Vol. IV, pp. 104-36.]

## XXVI

*Lecturer* : Dr. G. Bhattacharya, Research Fellow, Berlin Museum.

*Subject* : Indian and Central Asian Antiquities in the Berlin Museum.

*Date* : Thursday, the 14th January, 1971.

*Present* : Prof. D.C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair) ; Dr. D. R. Das,



M.A., D.Phil. ; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil. ; Sm. C. Gupta, M.A., LL. B. ; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D. Phil. ; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil. ; Dr. A.K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil. ; Dr. S.P. Singh, M. A., D.Phil. ; Sri B. P. Mishra, M.A. ; Dr. Sm. J. Maitra, M.A., Ph.D. ; Sm. K. Bajpeyi, M.A. ; Sri A. K. Jha, M. A. ; Sm. S. Das, M. A. ; Sm. M. Mukhopadhyay, M.A. ; Sri R.K. Billorey, M.A. ; and others.

*Summary* : Dr. Bhattacharya prefaced his talk with the information that a new building for objects of Indian Art would be opened in the Berlin Museum in October, 1971. He then referred to Le Coq's expedition to Eastern Turkestan in 1902, in the course of which that admirable archaeologist discovered a large number of Buddhistic frescoes and lime-stone figures most of which were later brought to Berlin. This collection soon came to be known as Turfan Collection which was afterwards enlarged by the antiquities secured by Prof. Gruenwedel from the sites excavated by Le Coq. Both the above-mentioned scholars later published their works on the frescoes from Eastern Turkestan.

Dr. Bhattacharya said that the Indian antiquities of the Berlin Museum could be divided into two groups, viz. (1) Gandhāra sculptures and (2) frescoes, manuscripts and lime-stone figures. He also said that Prof. Waldschmidt has written a valuable work on the Gandhāra collection of the Berlin Museum. It is unfortunate, Dr. Bhattacharya observed, that forty per cent of the frescoes were destroyed during the Second World War. In his opinion, the earliest of such paintings may be assigned to the 6th century A. D. Among the manuscripts preserved in the Museum, Dr. Bhattacharya mentioned a Buddhist text written in the Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī script, and among sculptures in the Museum he drew attention to a graceful figure of Viṣṇu of the Gupta period and another bronze figure of the same god with three heads (viz. those of a boar, a lion and a man).\* Dr. Bhattacharya referred, in this connexion to the good number of miniature-paintings preserved in the Museum, and to the admirable monograph of Prof. Waldschmidt on the miniature-paintings, which has already been translated into English. He also spoke about the unique collection of glazed tiles from Burma depicting various Jātaka scenes with descriptions in old Burmese characters (the so-called Pāli script) preserved in the Museum, most of which were thoroughly studied by Prof. Gruenwedel. He also mentioned an important unpublished inscription written in Proto-Bengali characters.

Lastly, Dr. Bhattacharya referred to the academic activities of the staff of the Museum. He mentioned the present Director of the Museum, Prof.

\* [Cf *agrataḥ puruṣ-ākāraṁ nārasimhaṁ ca dakṣiṇe /  
aparaṁ strī-mukh-ākāraṁ vārāh-āśyaṁ tath=ottare* //—Ed.]

Haertel who is now busy excavating a site near Mathurā and has succeeded in unearthing the earliest Brāhmanical bronze figure. Dr. Bhattacharya said that a number of students studying in the Museum are doing their doctoral theses on various aspects of Indian culture and civilisation.

*Discussion* : Prof. D.C. Sircar thanked Dr. Bhattacharya for information about the Indian antiquities and Indological studies at the Berlin Museum. In this connection, he referred to the discovery of antiquities in Soviet Central Asia, which were associated with the history and civilisation of ancient India. Prof. Sircar then indicated his interest in the Proto-Bengali inscription referred to by Dr. Bhattacharya and observed that, since it may be important for the history of Eastern India, he would be glad to publish it if Prof. Haertel would be good enough to send him a photograph or inked impression. In the same context, Dr. Bhattacharya said that there is a manuscript of the *Mahābhārata*, written in Kuṣāna Brāhmī characters of about the 1st century A.D., in the Museum of East Berlin. Dr. A. K. Chatterjee referred to the great value of such an old manuscript of the *Mahābhārata* and wanted to know whether arrangements had been made for examining and publishing it. Dr. Bhattacharya replied that a few pages of that manuscript had already been edited in a German periodical. Prof. Sircar referred in this connection to a 7th century manuscript of the *Skanda Purāṇa* preserved in the Royal Library at Kathmandu (Nepal), which, he observed, must be substantially different from the published texts of that Purāṇa, which are medieval. Dr. S.P. Singh enquired about the numismatic collection of the Berlin Museum. Dr. Bhattacharya said in reply that there is no collection of coins in the Museum, but that, in the East Berlin Museum, there is a good number of ancient Indian coins.

## XXVII

*Lecturer* : Prof. Heinz Mode, Director, Buddhist Centre, Halle, German Democratic Republic (East Germany).

*Subject* : C. F. Koepfen, Pioneer of Buddhist Research in Germany.

*Date* : Tuesday, the 16th February, 1971.

*Present* : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D. (in the chair) ; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M. A., D. Litt. ; Dr. Sm. A. Ray, M.A., D.Phil. ; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil. ; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M. A., LL. B., D. Phil. ; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M.A. ; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D.Phil. ; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil. ; Dr. A.K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil. ; Dr. S.P. Singh, M.A., D.Phil. ; Sri B. P. Mishra, M.A. ; Dr. Sm. J. Maitra, M.A., Ph. D. ; Sm. K. Bajpeyi, M.A. ; Sm. B. Chatterjee, M. A. ; Sm. M. Bandyopadhyay, M.A. ; Sm. M. Sengupta, M.A. ; Sri A. K. Jha, M. A. ; Mr. H. D. Zimmer.

Vice-Consul, G.D.R., Calcutta ; Mr. M. Bhattacharya, G.D.R. Consulate, Calcutta ; Sri S. K. Das, M. A. ; Sri S. Bandyopadhyay, M. A. ; Sm. S. Bhattacharya, M.A. ; Sri R. K. Billorey, M.A. ; and others.

*Summary :* Prof. Mode began his talk with a reference to Engels' work called 'Dialectics of Nature' (1875) in which mention is made of Buddhist dialectics. According to the speaker, Engels learnt about Buddhist dialectics from the work entitled *Die Religion des Buddha* by a school teacher named C. F. Koeppen, the first volume of which was published in 1857 and the second in 1859. This book throws a flood of light on early Buddhist dialectics. Koeppen admits his indebtedness to Hegel, the celebrated German philosopher whom he regarded as his *guru*. According to Prof. Mode, Koeppen's work has Hegelian passages, although many of his ideas are also distinctly non-Hegelian.

Prof. Mode pointed out that Koeppen had dedicated one of his books, published in 1840, to Karl Marx who mentions Koeppen as a friend in one of his writings published in 1841. Passages from the work of Engels were cited by Prof. Mode to show that he was a friend of Koeppen from the early forties of the nineteenth century. In a letter written to Engels in 1861, Marx refers to Koeppen's book on the Buddha's teachings, both the volumes of which had been presented to him by the author. Prof. Mode observed that both Marx and Engels had respect for Koeppen and pointed out that in a few letters of Engels, written after Koeppen's death in 1869, the latter is mentioned as a friend of Marx.

Prof. Mode observed that Buddhism, being an atheistic doctrine, made an impact on Koeppen who, as a Hegelian, was himself an atheist. Buddhism spread outside India, Prof. Mode argued, because it believed in the noble idea of brotherhood of man. It was the first religion which appealed direct to the masses. As a great reformer, the Buddha took women into his order.

Prof. Mode pointed out that some of the German Indologists after Koeppen freely borrowed from his works. He also mentioned how he had found a copy of Koeppen's work on Buddhism in the library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. He said that some German-knowing Indian should undertake the task of translating the work into English.

*Discussion :* Prof. D.C. Sircar thanked Prof. Mode and regretted the fact that Koeppen's work on Buddhism is little known in India. Prof. Sircar referred to the great contribution of German scholars like Max Müller, Bühler, Lüders, Kielhorn, Hutzsch and others to the study of Indian subjects. He also observed that some German Indological works are fortunately available in English.

Dr. A.K. Chatterjee said that the Buddha was at first reluctant to admit women into the order, but afterwards changed his mind at Ānanda's

request. In Dr. Chatterjee's opinion the Buddha had a deep-rooted prejudice against women. Prof. Sircar observed that the said attitude is common to Indian ascetics. Prof. Mode drew attention to the folk-art of India which he considered to be mainly a product of women as has been suggested by him in his *The Woman in Indian Art*. He said that the Art of Oriental countries like Japan, China and Mesopotamia is mostly male-dominated, but that Indian art is not so. Prof. Sircar observed that most of the Indian artists were males and that is why the women are prominent in Indian art. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay drew attention to the fact that in Indian literature also women have a prominent place. Prof. Sircar was inclined to connect this with the fact that most of the authors were males. Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya remarked that there is a single-line reference to Buddhism in a work of Hegel. Prof. Mode pointed out that Hegel's source was Colebrooke.

## XXVIII

*Lecturer* : Dr. A. B. Ganguli, Editor, *Betar Jagat*, All-India Radio, Calcutta.

*Subject* : The Sixty-four Arts of Ancient India.

*Date* : Thursday, the 4th March, 1971.

*Present* : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D. (in the chair); Sri T. N. Chakraborty, M.A.; Dr. S.K. Mitra, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil.; Dr.D.R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL. B., D. Phil; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M.A.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. A.K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. S. P. Singh, M. A., D. Phil.; Dr. Sm. J. Maitra, M.A.; Ph.D.; Sm. K. Bajpeyi, M.A.; Sm. B. Chatterjee, M. A.; Sm. S. Bhattacharya, M.A.; and others.

*Summary* : Dr. Ganguli observed that the sixty-four arts were known to be practised in India much before Vātsyāyana, the celebrated author of the *Kāmasūtra*. In the epics and the Jātakas, there are casual references to the sixty-four arts and both the Buddha and Mahāvira, we are told, had to learn them. Dr. Ganguli then briefly discussed the various controversies regarding the date and authorship of the *Kāmasūtra* and referred to the view of some authors who take Kauṇḍilya to be the author of this great work. He then pointed out that, but for the commentary *Jayamaṅgalā* by Yaśodhara, much of the book would have remained unintelligible and obscure.

According to Dr. Ganguli, music gets the highest prominence not only in the *Kāmasūtra*, but also in some other great works of both ancient and modern India. Music is in the very blood of the Indians, and among the fine arts, it is given the highest position. In this connexion, Dr. Ganguli mentioned the *Mṛcchakaṭika* and *Vikramorviśīya* which have some passages on

music. Vocal music gets the pride of place in the list of 64 arts as given by Vātsyāyana. In Dr. Ganguli's opinion, the vocal music of India was originally connected with the voice of animals. The second name in Vātsyāyana's list is *vādyā* or instrumental music, of which there were four principal types. Dr. Ganguli further pointed out that various instruments are not only mentioned in some works of hoary antiquity, but also depicted in sculpture. And in this connexion, he specifically mentioned the temples of Orissa.

Turning then to the art of dancing, Dr. Ganguli observed that dancing has always played a very vital part in the cultural life of both the urban and the rural people of India. Although originally connected with religion, Dr. Ganguli said, it became afterwards a part and parcel of our life. The *Abhinaya-kalā* or art of acting, which is fourth in the list, has been discussed by Bharata in detail in his famous *Nāṭyaśāstra*. *Ālekhyā* or painting, according to Dr. Ganguli, was another important name in the list of the 64 arts and, in this connexion, he referred to Kālidāsa's *S'akuntalā* and Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacarita*, both of which refer to this art. In the epics also, he said, there are direct and indirect references to painting. All the above-mentioned arts, according to Dr. Ganguli, were considered major arts which were compulsory subjects for a *gaṇikā* to learn.

Dr. Ganguli then briefly discussed the various minor Arts included in the exhaustive list of Vātsyāyana and observed that all of them were not considered branches of fine arts, even though, he added, all the arts were necessary to make life enjoyable.

The figure sixty-four, according to Dr. Ganguli, was a fictitious number. Some of the arts, such as *daśana-rāga* (painting of teeth) or *śayana-racanā* (making of beds) are still very popular in some parts of India. The *Svapnavāsavadattā* shows that the ancient Indians were fastidious about *śayana-racanā* while the art of cooking also reached a high level, Dr. Ganguli observed. He said that *indrajāla* or magic, *chalita-yoga* or disguise and the art of presaging good or evil from the sounds of birds and beasts were also popular. *Dyūta-kṛīḍā* or gambling enjoyed popularity, he said, from the days of the *Rgveda* and the Mohenjodaro civilization. Finally, Dr. Ganguli observed that the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana was written at the time of decline of Buddhism in India and that the 64 arts were basically the products of an industrial civilisation.

*Discussion :* Prof. D. C. Sircar pointed out that there seems to be no list of the 64 arts in any work earlier than Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* which seems to be an old work finally retouched in the Gupta age. There is a list in the *S'ukranītisāra* which, however may be a late mediaeval work. Prof. Sircar further observed that the present-day North Indian Classical music is not purely indigenous in the sense that it was very much influenced by Cen-

tral Asian music during the medieval period. He said that the Karnatak music of today has the essential elements of early Indian music in it. Prof. Sircar also pointed out that the references to aerial cars in some ancient Indian works, to which Dr. Ganguli drew attention, does not prove the existence of aeroplanes. If the Indians had aeroplanes, he said, that could not have escaped the attention of Magasthenes, Hiuen-tsang, Al-Biruni and others and, if they knew aerial bombing, they would not have been defeated at the hands of all foreign enemies. Prof. Sircar further drew attention to the absence of chess (*caturanga*) in the *Kāmasūtra* list of the arts and remarked that, although it was introduced into Europe by the Arabs who had learnt it from the Indians, the term *caturanga* became popular sometime after the composition of the *Kāmasūtra*. Dr. Ganguli said that there are great similarities between the Karnatak music and the Classical music of North India. Sri R. K. Bhattacharya remarked that *Kathakali* is basically a folk dance. Dr. A. K. Chatterjee observed that the aerial cars are mentioned in the *Kathasaritsagara*; but he agreed with Prof. Sircar that such references are fictitious.

## XXIX

*Lecturer* : Dr. Asko Parpola, Research Fellow, Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies, Copenhagen.

*Subject* : Indological Studies in Scandinavia.

*Date* : Tuesday, the 23rd February, 1971.

*Present* : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D. (in the chair) ; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M. A., D. Litt. ; Dr. Sm. P. Niyogi, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M. A., LL. B., D. Phil. ; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M. A., ; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. S. P. Singh, M. A., D. Phil. ; Sri B. P. Mishra, M. A., Dr. Sm. J. Maitra, M. A., Ph. D. ; Sm. K. Bajpeyi, M. A., Sm. B. Chatterjee, M. A. ; Sri A. K. Jha, M. A. ; Sm. S. Bhattacharya, M. A. ; and others.

*Summary* : In the absence of Dr. Asko Parpola, the text of his lecture was read out by Prof. D. C. Sircar.

Dr. Parpola observed that he had to depend wholly on his memory in writing out the text of the lecture in Calcutta, so that it might contain some omissions and inaccuracies. He is a Finn and obtained his degree from the Helsinki University, but is now working at the Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies which is financed by the governments of Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden and is situated at Copenhagen. It was established in 1967, he said, with the object of stimulating Asian studies. The Institute

has a Director and six Research Fellows, three of whom are Indologists and three specialists in East and South-East Asia. Dr. Parpola then gave some idea about the research activities of the Fellows of the Institute. He said that the Institute's library has a good collection of Indological publications. It has microfilm editions of the Census Reports and Gazetteers of India. The Institute is also publishing a News Letter on its activities. Dr. Parpola then said that he was primarily concerned with the study of the Indus Valley culture including the decipherment of its script. The Institute, he said, would shortly publish a critical edition and a concordance of the available Harappan inscriptions. In his opinion, the Indus Valley people were Dravidians who spoke the proto-Tamil language.

Dr. Parpola spoke about the research activities in various Scandinavian countries. Denmark, he said, is a good place for Tamil studies, and the Royal Library at Copenhagen has an important collection of early printed Tamil works. In connection with Copenhagen's importance in the field of Pali studies, he referred to V. Trenckner, D. Andersen and H. Hendriksen and also to the critical Pali Dictionary that is being published from there. Sanskrit studies are also encouraged in Denmark. Turning then to Finland, Dr. Parpola referred to Kellgren's Swedish translation of the *Amaruśataka* and the Nala-Damayanti story and mentioned Otto Donner who was Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology at the Helsinki University. He also mentioned the research activities of J. N. Reuter and of Pentti Aalto who is the present Professor of Sanskrit at Helsinki.

Speaking about Indian studies in Norway, Dr. Parpola observed that the great Indologist Christian Lassen, author of the famous *Indische Alterthumskunde* in German, was a Norwegian. Another great Indologist of the same country was Sten Konow who was a good epigraphist. G. Morgenstierne is also another great Norwegian Indologist. Professor Simonsson, who is a Swede, now teaches Sanskrit at the University of Oslo. He has published a Swedish translation of the *Sāṃkhyakārikā*.

Among the Swedish Indologists, Dr. Parpola mentioned Johansson, Arbmán, Helmer Smith and others. Indology is taught at three Universities of Sweden, viz. Uppsala, Goeteborg and Stockholm. The principal Oriental journals of Scandinavia, Dr. Parpola said, are the *Acta Orientalia*, *Orientalia Succana* and *Studia Orientalia*. He then spoke about the difficulties experienced by the students of Indology in the Scandinavian countries and also about the importance attached there to Indology as a subject of study.

*Discussion :* Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that the short time in which Dr. Parpola wrote out his lecture giving an intelligent survey of Indological studies in the Scandinavian countries testifies to the young scholar's diligence and erudition. Prof. Sircar admitted that he had no knowledge of Lassen's

Scandinavian origin. As regards omission of important names in Dr. Parpola's lecture, Prof. Sircar remembered Jarl Charpentier of Uppsala and Soerensen of Copenhagen. He also referred to Dr. Parpola's researches on the Indus Valley script which were based on the assumption that the language of the writing is Dravidian. However, in Prof. Sircar's opinion, there is no definite proof about the language of the Indus Valley people. He referred to the various attempts to read the Indus Valley script, and also considered the possibility of the derivation of Brāhmī from it. Dr. A.K. Chatterjee thought that Dr. Parpola's contention regarding the authors of the Mohenjodaro civilization being Dravidians is doubtful. He observed that every effort should be made to discover the missing link, i.e. the intermediate script that was used in India after the fall of Mohenjodaro and the emergence of Brāhmī. Prof. Sircar thanked Dr. Parpola and other Scandinavian Orientalists for their interest in Indian studies.

[ See above, Vol. IV, pp. 218-25. ]

### XXX

*Lecturer :* Dr. L. B. Keny, Head of the Dept. of History, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

*Subject :* Living Pre-history.

*Date :* Friday, the 25th February, 1972.

*Present :* Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D. (in the chair); Sri T. N. Chakraborty, M.A.; Dr. S.R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. K.K. Dasgupta, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. Sm. P. Niyogi, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D. Phil.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil.; Sri R.K. Bhattacharya, M.A.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M. A., D. Phil.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. S.P. Singh, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. Sm. J. Maitra, M.A., Ph.D.; Sm. K. Bajpeyi, M.A.; Sm. B. Chatterjee, M.A.; Sri R.K. Billorey, M. A.; Sri S. Bandyopadhyay, M. A.; Sri A. K. Jha, M. A., Dr. A. M. Shastri, M. A., Ph. D. (Nagpur); Dr. Balram Srivastava, M. A., Ph. D. (Banaras); Dr. G.B. Upreti, M.A., Ph.D. (Delhi); Dr. Miss. R. Champakalaksmi, M. A., Ph. D. (Madras); Sri Sunil K. Das, M. A.; Dr. Mrs. Sushil Maiti Devi, M. A., Ph. D. (Patna); Dr. O. P. Verma, M.A., Ph.D. (Nagpur); Dr. Sm. B. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; Sm. Malaya Sengupta, M.A.; Sri Adhir K. Chakravarti M. A.; Dr. N. N. Acharya, M. A., Ph. D. (Gauhati); and others.

*Summary :* Dr. Keny prefaced his talk by pointing out that he had deliberately chosen a challenging title for his lecture. Dr. S.R. Das interrupted to draw his attention to the fact that the phrase was first used by Kosambi quite a few years ago. Dr. Keny replied that his intention was to elucidate



and explain what Kosambi had actually meant by that rather unusual expression. He further observed that, among the tribal peoples of India at the present time, one could discover traces of old and prehistoric customs and ways of life. In their costume and food habit and even in their every-day religious practices, this primitiveness is preeminently manifested. Like the prehistoric men, a good number of tribals have no real conception of god, and they still worship trees, ghosts, etc. Their weapons prove that they are even now living in the hunting stage of civilisation. Dr. Keny then observed that people living near Aurangabad in Maharashtra still follow the way of life delineated in the frescoes of the Ajanta caves. He then described his own first-hand experience regarding the Thākūr tribe of Maharashtra. The mode of disposal of the dead among the people of this tribe would remind one of the similar practice among palaeolithic peoples. The Thākurs even at the present day bury their dead under the floor of their own house. They have still a great passion for hunting and go to the forest in groups. Curiously enough they do not use any match-box or utensils while cooking in the forest although they know the use of both. Dr. S.R. Das pointed out to Dr. Keny that such methods are still used by the native people of Australia. Dr. Keny thereupon said that the *sudarśana-cakra* of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa was nothing, but a kind of boomerang which is highly popular among the natives of Australia. Turning then to the Thākurs, the speaker observed that their marriage is also of a very primitive type. Widow marriage is common and the marriage of elderly women with youths is not unknown. A married woman is not prevented from seeking a second husband. Forced marriage is also not discouraged. Dr. Keny concluded by observing that a more intensive study of the life of the tribals of all parts of India would be beneficial for both the historian and the anthropologist.

*Discussion :* Prof. D. C. Sircar thanked Dr. Keny for delivering a thought-provoking and interesting lecture. He, however, said that, on certain points, he did not agree with Dr. Keny. Prof. Sircar observed that 'civilisation' is a relative term and the so-called city-civilisation is not necessarily superior to the village civilisation. He also did not accept the explanation of the term *vivāha* as given by Dr. Keny who took it to indicate the forcible carrying away of the bride by the bridegroom. According to Prof. Sircar, *vivāha* essentially means 'the marrying out [of the daughter]' as opposed to *āvāha*, i.e. 'the marrying in [of the son]'. Referring to the *sudarśana-cakra* of Kṛṣṇa, Prof. Sircar observed that the *śakti-śela* of Rāvaṇa was also a kind of boomerang. Dr. S. R. Das observed that a present day historian should also be a trained anthropologist. Dr. S. P. Singh asked Dr. Keny whether shift cultivation is known to the Thākurs. Dr. Keny replied in the affirmative.

## XXXI

**Lecturer :** Dr. A. V. Gerasimov, Institute of Oriental Studies, U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, Moscow.

**Subject :** Sanskrit Studies in the Soviet Union.

**Date :** Monday, the 13th March, 1972.

**Present :** Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D. (in the chair) ; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M. A., D. Litt. ; Dr. Sm. P. Niyogi, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M. A., LL. B., D. Phil. ; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M. A. ; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. S. P. Singh, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. Sm. J. Maitra, M. A., Ph.D. ; Sm. B. Chatterjee, M. A. ; Sri R. K. Billorey, M. A. ; Sm. M. Bandyopadhyay, M. A. ; Sm. C. Gupta, M. A., LL. B. ; and others.

**Proceedings :** Dr. A. V. Gerasimov spoke in Bengali. He mentioned Th. Stcherbatsky well-known for his studies in Buddhist philosophy and the *Ālpaśūtras* and his mastery over the Sanskrit, Pali and Tibetan languages. Dr. Gerasimov referred to the study and teaching of Sanskrit in the Universities like those of Moscow and Tashkent and to the publication of Russian works on the *R̥gveda*, the *Mahābhārata*, and other treatises like the *Pañcatantra*, *S'ukasaptati*, *Mudrārākṣasa*, *Meghadūta*, *Mālavikāgnimitra*, etc. In this connection, Dr. Gerasimov mentioned Russian scholars like Oldenburg, who made valuable contributions to various aspects of Indological studies. He also referred to the study of Central Asian manuscripts by Soviet scholars and said that Russian researchers are working to find out the relationship between the ancient Indian and Central Asian cultures. Speaking about the researches on Indian culture, Dr. Gerasimov said that Russian specialists are working on different aspects of Indian society and that Soviet libraries have works on India's history, philosophy, religion, politics and other social sciences. He also referred to researches on the aboriginal tribes of India. Regarding Vedic studies, Dr. Gerasimov said how light has been thrown on Vedic culture, and books and articles on the *R̥gveda* have been published, and how the studies of the other *Saṃhitās* are also in progress. He further observed that Indian philosophy forms an important subject of Sanskritic studies and valuable works have been produced in that field. Regarding ancient Indian polity, Dr. Gerasimov mentioned the progress made in the study of the Indian conceptions of war, friendship and enmity. He referred to the work done by Russian scholars on the episode of Arjuna and Urvāṣī and the Indian concept of love and different types of heroes and heromes dealt with in early Indian literature. Dr. Gerasimov concluded by observing that studies in Indian culture are not confined to the Russian academi-

cians and specialists, but that they are becoming popular also with the ordinary students.

*Discussion :* Prof. D. C. Sircar expressed satisfaction that Dr. Gerasimov was capable of expressing himself so ably in the Bengali language. He mentioned in this connection how he met a Russian officer at Tashkent and Moscow in 1961, who talked Bengali very well and how the study of foreign languages appeared to him to be more popular in the Soviet Union than in other countries. Regarding the teaching of Sanskrit at the Lenin University of Tashkent, Prof. Sircar pointed out that, in 1961 when he was there for delivering lectures at the Oriental Faculty of the said institution, only Urdu and Hindi were being taught there so that teaching of Sanskrit may have been recently introduced. Sri Asoke Mitra of Jadavpur University wanted to know the method followed in the Russian Universities for teaching Sanskrit. Dr. Gerasimov replied that the language is studied for a fairly long time and that the study begins with folktales like those in the *Pañcatantra*. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay wanted to know the state of studies in Indian epigraphy and numismatics. Prof. Sircar observed that some small inscriptions and a number of coins discovered in Russian Central Asia have been studied by scholars and have been preserved in Russian museums, notably the Hermitage at Leningrad. However, Prof. Sircar added that studies in Indian epigraphy and numismatics have not been remarkable as yet in Russia. As regards the discovery of Kuṣāṇa coins in Russian Central Asia, Prof. Sircar said that they do not prove the Kuṣāṇa occupation of those regions since coins travel in the course of trade, pilgrimage, military expeditions, etc. Sri Durga Prasad Sastri said that the names of the Kuṣāṇa kings like Kaniṣka and Huviṣka are Russian. Prof. Sircar observed that these are neither Indian nor Russian and pointed out that the Kuṣāṇa coin-legends and the Surkh Kotal inscription, both written in Greek script, exhibit Iranian influence on the Central Asian dialect adopted by the Kuṣāṇas.

### XXXII

*Lecturer :* Dr. T.V. Mahalingam, retired Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras.

*Subject :* Cultural Life of Kāñcīpuram—Archaeological Evidence.

*Date :* Tuesday, the 25th April, 1972.

*Present :* Prof. D. C. Sircar M. A., Ph.D. (in the chair) ; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt. ; Sri D.K. Biswas, M.A. ; Dr. Sm. A. Roy, M. A., D.Phil. ; Sm. C. Gupta, M.A., LL.B. ; Sri R.K. Bhattacharya, M. A. ; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D.Phil. ; Dr. N.N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil. ; Dr. A.K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil. ; Dr. S.P. Singh, M.A., D. Phil. ; Sri

B. P. Mishra, M.A. ; Dr. Sm. J. Maitra, M. A., Ph. D. ; Sm. K. Bajpeyi, M.A. ; Sm. B. Chatterjee, M.A. ; Sri A.K. Jha, M. A. ; Sri R. K. Billorey, M.A. ; Sri A. Prasad, M.A. ; Sri S.K. Das, M.A. ; Sri S. Bandyopadhyay, M. A. ; and others.

**Summary :** Dr. T. V. Mahalingam pointed out that, before undertaking archaeological excavations at Kāñcīpuram, he did some excavation work in the Lower Kāveri Valley. He referred to the long literary and cultural history behind Kāñcīpuram. From early times, it was known for its artistic activities. Even now it is a thickly populated and flourishing city. The main purpose behind his excavations was to find out whether archaeology corroborates the Sanskrit and Tamil literary traditions about this famous city. Excavations, originally conducted outside the city, did not produce any satisfactory result. It was decided then to excavate a few selected areas in the heart of the city and accordingly four sites were taken up.

From one of the sites near the Devī (Kāmākṣī) temple, a large deposit of sand, ash and charcoal was obtained from a depth of 18 feet, stratigraphically assignable to the 2nd century A. D. According to Dr. Mahalingam, this discovery of charcoal and ash proves the correctness of the Sangam literary traditions about Karikāla who is said to have founded Kāñcīpuram after destroying the forest in that area. Dr. Mahalingam observed that Karikāla flourished in c. 2nd century A.D. From the same site, at a depth of 16 feet, a Buddhist *stūpa* was discovered. That Kāñcīpuram was a great centre of Buddhism in the early centuries of the Christian era is suggested by the evidence of Huen-tsang and the indigenous literary tradition. Another site, which is situated at a distance of 3 furlongs from the above-mentioned site, yielded as many as 54 large amphoral jars of Black-and-Red variety. These were evidently used for storage purpose and probably contained various types of drinks. A few such jars were unearthed by Wheeler in 1944 at Arikamedu near Pondicherry. Dr. Mahalingam observed that such jars were probably used by wine-consuming Kāpālikas who are mentioned prominently in the *Mattavilāsaprahasana* composed by the Pallava monarch Mahendravarman. From a nearby Śiva temple, two stone pillars of Mahendravarman's time were discovered. A terracotta mould for making coins with the figure of a bull and the *śrīvatsa* symbol are among other notable finds from Kāñcīpuram. Dr. Mahalingam was of the opinion that Kāñcīpuram formed a part of the Aśokan empire in the 3rd century B.C. ; afterwards it passed into the hands of the Pallavas. He further pointed out that, according to Aravamuthan, the Pallavas originally ruled from Chinna-Ganjam, called Kāñcī, in the Guntur District, and occupied the present Kāñcī only in the 4th century A.D. Dr. Mahalingam concluded by observing that discoveries

made by him more or less confirm the history of this famous city as related in the Sangam literature.

*Discussion :* Prof. D.C. Sircar thanked Dr. Mahalingam for his interesting talk. He drew attention to the fact that Hiuen-tsang saw an Aśokan *stūpa* at Kāñcī. He, however, was not inclined to accept Aravamuthan's theory regarding the existence of a second Kāñcīpuram. Prof. Sircar further observed that the Sangam literary tradition offers little for the reconstruction of political history and regarded Karikāla as a mythical figure. He further pointed out that Ptolemy's Geography, composed about the middle of the second century A. D., says nothing about Kāñcīpuram. Dr. A.K. Chatterjee observed that silence on the part of Ptolemy did not prove anything; but Prof. Sircar thought that, since a number of places (including capital cities of kings) of the area are mentioned by Ptolemy, he could have hardly omitted Kāñcī if it would have been a prominent city then. Dr. A. N. Lahiri wanted to know the size of bricks found in excavations of Kāñcīpuram. Dr. Mahalingam replied that they are  $20'' \times 18'' \times 2\frac{1}{4}''$  in size.

### XXXIII

*Lecturer :* Sri K. R. Vijayaraghavan, Superintending Archaeologist for Museums, Archaeological Survey of India, Calcutta.

*Subject :* Site Museums in India.

*Date :* Thursday, the 4th May, 1972.

*Present :* Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D. (in the chair); Prof. S. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. A.N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; Dr. D.R. Das, M.A., D. Phil.; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri R.K. Bhattacharya, M.A.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M. A., D. Phil.; Dr. Sm. J. Maitra, M. A., Ph. D.; Sm. K. Bajpeyi, M. A.; Sm. C. Gupta, M. A., LL. B.; Dr. S. P. Singh, M. A., D. Phil.; Dr. Sunil Chandra Ray, M. A., D. Phil.; Sri S. Bandyopadhyay, M. A.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M. A., D. Phil.; and others.

*Summary :* In his illustrated lecture, Sri K. R. Vijayaraghavan traced the museum movement in India with the foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Sir William Jones in the last quarter of the 18th century and the opening of the Museums of Biology and Geology after some years. The establishment of the Archaeological Survey of India, in the year 1861, gave an impetus to enrich the collection of archaeological objects in the museums. Sometime afterwards, the Survey thought of opening museums at the important archaeological sites with a view to preserve the antiquities discovered from those places. The opening of the first site museum of the Archaeological Survey of India in 1904 at Sarnath was later followed by the establishment of similar museums at Taxila and other places. These museums came under the administration of the Museums Branch of the Archaeological Survey of

India with the creation of the Branch by Sri Mortimer Wheeler in 1946. The partition of the country gave a blow to the activities of the Branch since India lost some important site museums like those at Taxila, Mahenjodaro and Harappa. Gradually this loss was sought to be compensated by the establishment of the museums at places like Sanchi and Khajuraho. Sri Vijayaraghavan pointed out that there are now many site museums in India at places like Amaravati, Bijapur, Bodhgaya, Fort St. George (Madras), Goa, Halebid, Hampi, Khajuraho, Konarak, Kondapur, Nagarjunakonda, Nalanda, Sanchi, Sarnath, Srirangapatnam and Vaisali. There are plans to open new site museums at places like Lothal, Kalibangan, Ratnagiri and Vikramasila. He classified the site museums into three categories, No. 1 being those which are attached to the excavated sites, No. 2 those which are located at the site of ancient temples and monuments and No. 3 those which are established in the capital cities. Sri Vijayaraghavan gave a brief description of the museum buildings, their location and collections, arrangement of galleries, the display of antiquities and the important exhibits. He referred to the colossal standing Buddha image at Amaravati; polished terracotta figurines at Kondapur; wooden figure of Varāha (17th century), seated Gaṇeśa of soap-stone and decorated stone pillar of the Pallava-Cola style at Hampi; lion-capital of the Aśokan pillar and the famous seated Buddha at Sarnath; fragments of Śuṅga railings and bronze images at Bodhgaya; stone wheel and sculptures at Konarak; flying Gandharvas, dancing Gaṇeśa and Varāha figures at Khajuraho; etc.

*Discussions:* Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that during recent years the site museums in India have been enormously developed. He pointed out that among the site museums in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) the one at Mainamati is very valuable and it is located in beautiful natural surroundings. He recalled the picturesque location of the site museum at Nagarjunakonda. Dr. A.N. Lahiri enquired about the opening of the site museum at Ratnagiri. Sri Vijayaraghavan said that, since the place is not connected by an all-weather road, the Survey is finding some difficulty in opening a museum there. Prof. S. R. Das observed that the best site museum in the Indian sub-continent is the one at Taxila now in Pakistan. Sri Vijayaraghavan referred to the importance of the Nagarjunakonda Museum and Prof. Sircar to that of the Sarnath Museum.

## MONTHLY SEMINARS AT THE CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY\*

L

*Thursday, the 6th May, 1971*

*Present :* Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D. (in the chair); Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M. A., D. Litt.; Sri T. N. Chakraborty, M. A.; Dr. S. K. Mitra, M. A., LL. B., D. Phil.; Dr. D. R. Das, M. A., D. Phil.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M. A., LL. B., D. Phil.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M. A.; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M. A., D. Phil.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M. A., D. Phil.; Dr. Sm. J. Maitra, M. A., Ph. D.; Sm. K. Bajpeyi, M. A.; Sm. B. Chatterjee, M. A.; Sri S. Bandyopadhyay, M. A.; Sri Sunil Kumar Das, M. A.; and others.

*Proceedings :* Dr. A. K. Chatterjee read his paper entitled 'Last Days of Devadatta'. According to Dr. Chatterjee, the Pāli texts, written mostly by zealous devotees of the Buddha, generally represent him as an arch villain and a dangerous enemy of the Master. He further observed that Devadatta did not raise his voice against the Buddha before the latter's 72nd year and then turned into a rival religious leader. Dr. Chatterjee suspected that Devadatta, who was a thorn in the flesh of the loyal monks, was probably murdered by them or their agents.

Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that the Buddha-Devadatta story reminds one of the rivalry between God and Satan, Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and Paṇḍraka-Vāsudeva and similar other cases. Prof. Sircar regarded Devadatta as a controversial figure, very little about whose views is known. It is difficult to prove, Prof. Sircar said, that Devadatta was murdered by the devout followers of the Buddha. Dr. S. K. Mitra thought that in spite of his opposition to the Buddha, Devadatta was at heart a true Buddhist. Dr. Chatterjee said that, in his opinion, Devadatta was a reformist among the Buddha's followers. Sri T. N. Chakraborty agreed with Dr. Chatterjee that Devadatta was not the man behind Bimbisāra's murder.

2. Prof. D. C. Sircar read a note on the pillar inscription unearthed as a result of excavations at Antichak near Pat'harghata, conducted by the Jayaswal Archaeological Society, Patna, under the leadership of Prof. B. P. Sinha. It is a damaged epigraph of about the twelfth century A. D. and

\* Continued from Vol. IV, pp. 298-322 (XXXIX-XLIX).

speaks of the descendants of *Rajādhirāja Paramēśvara* Keśara who seems to have had his capital at Campā near Bhagalpur. The record is a eulogy of his descendant named Sāhura (or Sāhvara), the son of Hansana (Haṃsana) and father of Māsānikēśa. Sāhura, who at first enjoyed the patronage of the Gauḍa king and later defeated Soṇadāman sent by the Vaṅga king to subdue him, built or installed something in the great Buddhist *vihāra* on the bank of the Ganges apparently at Antichak, and his son got the eulogy composed by a Buddhist scholar named Mañjuśrī. The concluding stanza contains a prayer for the longevity of Sāhura's *kīrti* or fame-producing work. Prof. Sircar observed that the rulers mentioned in the inscription are not known from any other source. They were Buddhists; but some of them bore non-Sanskritic names like a few members of the family of the Ceravu (Chero) king Bhulla of the copper-plate inscription discovered at Vihīyā (Bihia, Shahabad District, Bihar), its donor being the son of Durlabha and the grandson of Parāu and issuing the grant in 1324 A. D.

Dr. A. N. Lahiri wanted to know whether Gauḍeśvara and Vaṅgeśvara were one and the same monarch. Prof. Sircar observed that they may have been and, if they were, the king of Gauḍa-Vaṅga was at first a friend and later an enemy of Sāhura.

## LI

*Thursday, the 12th August, 1971.*

**Present :** Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D. (in the chair); Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M. A., D. Litt.; Sri T. N. Chakraborty, M. A.; Dr. S. K. Mitra, M. A., LL.B., D. Phil.; Sri D. K. Biswas, M. A.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., D. Phil.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. S.P. Singh, M. A., D. Phil.; Sri B. P. Mishra, M. A.; Dr. Sm. J. Maitra, M. A., Ph. D.; Sm. K. Bajpeyi, M.A.; Sm. B. Chatterjee, M.A.; Sri R. K. Billorey, M.A.; Sri A. K. Jha, M. A.; Sm. M. Bandyopadhyay, M. A.; Dr. S. D. Pandey, M. A., Ph. D.; and others.

**Proceedings :** In connection with his paper on 'Last Days of Devadatta' read at the previous Monthly Seminar held on Thursday, the 6th May, 1971, Dr. A. K. Chatterjee observed that a similar paper on the same subject published in the latest issue (Vol. XXVIII) of the *Bhāratiya Vidyā* was recently noticed by him.

2. Dr. Sm. K. Saha read a note on 'Chinese Translation of the *Vinaya-piṭaka*', in which she observed that the *Vinaya* in Chinese translation is a very rich collection. She pointed out that Pāli *Vinayapiṭaka* represents only one school while the Chinese collection embodies the texts of five different schools. Moreover, there is also a *Mahāyāna* text of the *Vinayapiṭaka* in



Chinese, which consists of about 25 works. Dr. S. K. Mitra observed that the paper is of a descriptive nature.

3. Dr. S. D. Pandey read a paper entitled 'Some Village Rituals of Magadha' in which he discussed some ceremonies prevalent in South Bihar and suggested that they originated in that region. Prof. D. C. Sircar and Dr. S. K. Mitra pointed out that the rituals referred to by Dr. Pandey were prevalent in the rural society even outside South Bihar and that generally no textual authority can be cited for them. Prof. Sircar considered it difficult to prove whether the rituals originated in South Bihar and spread outside, or whether some of them started outside and entered into that area. Dr. A. N. Lahiri and Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay supported Prof. Sircar's contention. Dr. S. P. Singh said that there are many other rituals practised in South Bihar and referred to the worship of Khapparmāyī at the time of epidemics, in connection with which goats, pigeons, cocks, hens, etc., are sacrificed by the villagers who gather their blood in a *khappar* (big potsherd); this they carry, along with some live animals and birds, from their village to the inhabitants of the next village, who have to carry the things to a third village; and in this way ultimately the offerings are thrown into the waters of the Ganges in order to satisfy the deity.

4. Dr. S. P. Singh read a note entitled 'Harvanspura Stone Pillar Inscription'. He said that a monolithic pillar in the said village of the Patna District (Bihar) bears a single line of writing on its southern face which reads... [ca]ndradeva and Śrī-Devagaṇa-kīrti in characters of the 12th century A. D. He was inclined to trace from the letters *candradeva* the name of Gāhaḍa-vāla Govindacandradeva who is known to have extended his power over some parts of Bihar. According to Dr. Singh, the pillar was probably erected by Govindacandra who dedicated it to the god Gaṇa. Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that it is difficult to read the name of Govindacandra on Dr. Singh's photograph. He thought that reference may be to the meritorious deed (*kīrti*) of a person named Devagana.

5. Prof. D. C. Sircar read a note on 'Different Values of Early Indian Coin-names'. He pointed out how a good deal of valuable information was collected by Vardhamāna in his *Daṇḍaviveka* (c. 1500 A.D.), from a large number of authorities, on the difference in the weight and metal of coins like *māṣa* as well as in the relationship of one coin with others. In this connection, he drew attention to the following: I.—Pala=(1) 4 Suvarṇas (320 Ratis of gold); (2) 5 Suvarṇas (400 Ratis of gold); (3) 10 Dharaṇas (320 Ratis of silver), also called Ś'atamāna; (4) 8 Karṣārdha or Tolaka (640 Ratis); (5) 20 silver Māṣakas of 88 Gaurasarṣapas each (about 98 Ratis); II.—Niṣka=(1) 4 Suvarṇas; (2) 5 Suvarṇas; (3) 108 Suvarṇas (8640 Ratis); (4) Dīnāra or Karṣa (80 Ratis) or Pala of gold (320 or 400

Ratis) ; (5) 320 Ratis of silver ; (6) silver Dharāṇa of nearly 80 Ratis ; III. —Dināra = (1) Niṣka, Karṣa (80 Ratis), etc. ; (2) equal to 48 Paṇas of copper (80 Ratis each) ; (3) equal to 48 Kārṣāpaṇas (probably the same as Paṇas) ; also called Suvarṇa and Dhānika ; (4) equal to 28 Rūpakas of silver ; (5) equal to 32 Ratis of gold ; etc. In this way, Prof. Sircar also discussed the different values of Māṣa, Kākinī, Akṣa, Dharāṇa and Paṇa or Kārṣāpaṇa as mentioned in Vardhamāna's *Daṇḍaviveka*. Dr. A.N. Lahiri observed that the *Daṇḍaviveka* suffers from some palpable errors and confusion and that it has nothing to do with the actual coins. Prof. Sircar however, pointed out that the author of the *Daṇḍaviveka* gathered valuable information from various manuscripts and is so very careful that sometimes he notices variant readings in different manuscripts of the same work. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay requested Prof. Sircar to publish the valuable evidence of the *Daṇḍaviveka* as early as possible.

[The paper has been published in *Indian Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. IX, 1971, pp. 1-9.]

## LII

Thursday, the 16th September, 1971

**Present :** Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph.D. (in the chair) ; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A. D. Litt. ; Sri T. N. Chakraborty, M.A., Dr. S. K. Mitra, M.A., LL.B., D. Phil. ; Dr. Sm. P. Niyogi, M.A., D. Phil. ; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D. Phil. ; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., D. Phil. ; Sri R.K. Bhattacharya, M.A. ; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D. Phil. ; Dr. N.N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D. Phil. ; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D. Phil. ; Dr. S. P. Singh, M.A., D. Phil. ; Sri B. P. Mishra, M.A. ; Dr. Sm. J. Maitra, M.A., Ph.D. ; Sm. K. Bajpeyi, M.A. ; Sm. B. Chatterjee, M.A. ; Sri A.K. Jha, M.A. ; Sri S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A. ; Sri A. Prasad, M.A. ; Sri R. K. Billorey, M.A. ; Sm. M. Sengupta, M.A. ; Sm. M. Bandyopadhyay, M.A. ; and others.

**Proceedings :** Before taking up the business on the agenda, Prof. D. C. Sircar read a letter which he had received from Mr. David P. Henige (Madison, Wisconsin, USA) who expressed his opinion on Prof. Sircar's views on the epico-Purāṇic traditions appearing in the Proceedings of the Seminars on the Bhārata War and Purāṇic Genealogies held at the Centre in 1967. Mr. Henige says, "I have recently been reading with great interest *The Bhārata War and Purāṇic Genealogies* which you edited. My own field is African history, although I have long had an interest in pre-British Indian history as well. In fact, the study of pre-colonial African history is not so far removed from early Indian history, at least in terms of the nature of the evidence available, as one might suspect. That is, the oral traditions,

our primary source, bear distinct similarities to the chronicles of early India, and since my own field of particular interest is in an analysis of the chronological content of oral tradition, I have found it very useful to look closely at India for comparative purposes.—I enjoyed the 'Proceedings of the Seminar' portions of this book for the variety of views concerning the validity and accuracy of the Purāṇic genealogies. Your scepticism unfortunately does not seem to be shared by many of your colleagues. It seems to me that the Purāṇic genealogies most closely resemble the early Irish annals and I commend to your attention an article by John V. Kelleher entitled 'Early Irish History and Pseudo-History' in *Studia Hibernica*, III (1963), 113-27, in which he discussed how and why these vast genealogies were fabricated at a much later date for partisan purposes. Perhaps it is unfair to suggest that the Purāṇic genealogies are essentially fabrications; but I can see similarities between these two cases.—Your account of the mythical genealogy of the Eastern Gaṅgas was of particular interest to me because it is an apt illustration of the nature of epigraphic evidence for so many of the medieval dynasties...You are no doubt aware of Prof. Trautmann's article in *JAOS* concerning regnal/generational averages. I believe he has been too naive in accepting what is essentially an incomplete epigraphic record to draw his conclusions...I have written an article to appear this year in the *Journal of African History* which deals in a cursory manner with some of these problems...I particularly wished to express my gratification at seeing the evidence for pre-5th century B.C. Indian history scrutinized in a properly critical fashion."

Dr. A. K. Chatterjee observed that Mr. Henige is probably not familiar with the epic and Purāṇic traditions, the historical value of which has been appreciated by great scholars like Pargiter. In Dr. Chatterjee's opinion, it is unwise to compare the accounts of the Purāṇas with those of Ireland. Prof. Sircar deprecated Dr. Chatterjee's approach because the remarks were made without any knowledge of Irish legends and also because of the failure to appreciate the importance of the service rendered by Mr. Henige by drawing our attention to the traditions of other countries which would appear to be similar to our Purāṇic legends. Prof. Sircar said that, in such matters, our attitude should not be like that of the *kūpa-maṇḍūka* who has limited ideas and is satisfied with the knowledge only of his own surroundings.

2. Sri S. K. Chakravarti read a paper entitled 'Sati in Bengal Epigraphy' in which he observed that the earliest epigraphic records referring to the Sati-rite so far found in Bengal are three stones unearthed at Buddhapur in the former Manbhum District, ascribable to the 10th century A. D. He further said that, in the 18th and 19th centuries, Bengal witnessed the maxi-

num number of widow-burning cases. Prof. Sircar observed that innumerable Satī pillars are found in Southern and Western India, only some of which bear inscriptions. Most of them are without any writing, though some bear only the representation of a few ladies with outstretched palms with fingers upwards above their shoulders or merely of such palms, indicating the Satī's passage to heaven. Dr. S. P. Singh said that an inscription on an image enshrined in the Gadādhara temple at Gaya records the death of Mohana Rajaka and his wife Kolhādikā who probably became Satī. Prof. Sircar was doubtful about the evidence. In this connection he referred to an earthen pot inscription of the 3rd century A. D. from the Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh, which is possibly the earliest epigraphic record of Satī.

3. Dr. S. P. Singh read his paper entitled 'The Villages in Bihar mentioned in Inscriptions' in which he made an attempt to identify some of the villages. Sri A. K. Jha wanted to know the basis on which Dr. Singh had identified these places. Dr. Singh said that the location of most of the gift villages is indicated in the copper-plate grants themselves, and help is sometimes offered by their findspots. Sri B. P. Mishra suggested that the villages may be identified with those bearing the same names. Prof. Sircar observed that the names of villages are sometimes of no help.

4. Prof. D. C. Sircar then read a paper entitled 'Coins of Some Tripurā Kings' in which he discussed six silver coins, three of Ratnamāṇikya and three of Dhanyamāṇikya. Two of Ratnamāṇikya's coins were issued in the Śaka years 1386 (1464-65 A.D.) and 1387 (1465-66 A. D.). On the coins of this king, formerly the second figure was often wrongly read as 2 instead of 3 so that Ratnamāṇikya's reign period was placed in the fourteenth century. Prof. Sircar pointed out that this early date for Ratnamāṇikya is proved to be wrong by the present coins and this is supported not only by the remarkable similarity of the palaeography of the legends on Ratna's coins with that of the legends on Dhanyamāṇikya's coins of Śaka 1412 (1490-91 A.D.), but also by the fact that the type of *śa* used on Ratnamāṇikya's coins is not expected before the concluding part of the fifteenth century. Prof. Sircar said that in 1948 he had assigned the composition of the Tripurā chronicle entitled *Rājamāla* to a date later than the middle of the 18th century and that the unreliable nature of the *Rājamāla* is now proved by the correct date of Ratnamāṇikya, because five kings of four generations (one of whom, viz., Dharmamāṇikya, is said to have ruled for 32 years) placed by the chronicle between Ratna and Dhanya could not have ruled between the dates of the said two kings.

Commenting on Prof. Sircar's paper, Dr. A. N. Lahiri observed that the reading 3 of the second figure in the Śaka date on Ratnamāṇikya's coins

was suggested by him in a paper read at the session of the Indian History Congress held at Jabalpur in December, 1970. In the said paper, Dr. Lahiri said, the error of the *Rājamāla* in placing too many kings between Ratna and Dhanya was also pointed out. The paper, he expected, would appear in the proceedings of the Congress. Prof. Sircar observed that in Dr. Lahiri's reading *puri* is a mistake for *pta-vi* in *Śrī-Durgg-ārādhan-āpta-vijayaḥ* in the legend of Ratna's coin of Śaka 1386.

[The paper (including another noticed at pp. 364-65 below) has been published above, pp. 27-37]

## LIII

Thursday, the 18th November, 1971

**Present :** Prof. D.C. Sircar, M.A., Ph. D. (in the chair) ; Sri T. N. Chakraborty, M.A. ; Dr. S.K. Mitra, M.A., LL.B., D. Phil. ; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., D. Phil. ; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M.A. ; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D. Phil. ; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D. Phil. ; Dr. S. P. Singh, M.A., D. Phil. ; Sri B.P. Mishra, M.A. ; Dr. Sm. J. Maitra, M.A., Ph. D. ; Sm. K. Bajpeyi, M.A. ; Sm. B. Chatterjee, M.A. ; Sri A. K. Jha, M.A. ; Sri A. Prasad, M.A. ; Sm. M. Sengupta, M.A. ; Sm. M. Bandyopadhyay, M.A. ; Sri R.K. Billorey, M.A. ; Sri S. K. Das, M.A. ; and others.

**Proceedings :** Sri A. K. Jha read his paper entitled 'A Stone Image of Viṣṇu from Bhagalpur' in which he discussed a beautiful specimen of Pāla art. On stylistic grounds, he assigned the image to c. 10th century A.D. Sri B.P. Mishra wanted to know the reason for the representation of two Garuḍas on the pedestal. Sri Jha thought that the two Garuḍa figures are a decorative device. Prof. D.C. Sircar observed that the Garuḍas are not clear in the photograph.

2. Sri R.K. Bhattacharya read a paper on 'The Caste and Ancestry of the Nandas', in which he referred to the observation of R.K. Mookerji that, since the caste of the father determined that of his progeny, the Nandas, described as Śūdras in the Purāṇas, were scions of a Śūdra. Sri Bhattacharya observed that Mookerji's remark is contrary to the Śāstric prescription and that the son of a Kṣatriya male and Śūdra female should properly be a Śūdra. He quoted certain texts in support of his view and referred to the cases of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Pāṇḍu and Vidura who belonged to the castes of their mothers. Prof. Sircar observed that, as regards the point raised by Sri Bhattacharya, there is really no unanimity among ancient Indian law-givers and also the practices prevalent in the country so that neither of the views held respectively by Mookerji and Bhattacharya is wholly correct. Manu no doubt suggests that the offspring of a Kṣatriya and a Śūdrā enjoys a lower

social status than that of the Kṣatriya, but applies the name Ugra to him. However, against such views, Prof. Sircar raised the cases of Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa who was regarded as a Brāhmaṇa even though he was born of a Brāhmaṇa father and Dāśa (Śūdra) mother and of the Brāhmaṇa Paraśurāma born of the Brāhmaṇa Jamadagni from the Kṣatriya girl Reṇukā. In Prof. Sircar's opinion, the Śāstric injunctions quoted by Sri Bhattacharya were more or less theoretical. As regards the Nandas, Prof. Sircar pointed out that the story of the Classical writers that the first Nanda king was the son of a barber is supported by a Jain tradition in the *Parisiṣṭaparvan* and that this early and corroborated tradition is apparently more reliable than the Purāṇic legend. Sri B.P. Mishra objected to Sri Bhattacharya's suggestion that Vyāsa was a Śūdra like his mother, but obtained the status of the Brāhmaṇa by dint of his penances. If such was the case, he asked, why was Śambūka of the *Rāmāyaṇa* killed by Rāma, simply for the offence of practising penance? Sri Bhattacharya replied that Śambūka was held guilty for disregarding Śāstric injunctions regarding penance, for which death sentence has been prescribed in the *Aṭṭisamhitā*. Prof. Sircar did not attach any importance to the plea and observed that the *Aṭṭisamhitā* is a late work of little authority while the *Rāmāyaṇa* is the most authoritative source of the Rāma legend.

3. Prof. D. C. Sircar then read his paper entitled 'The Date of Dharmamāṇikya and his Relations with Ratnamāṇikya'. First he referred to his paper read at the previous Monthly Seminar, in which he had suggested that the dates on Ratnamāṇikya's coins are really Śaka 1368, etc., and not Śaka 1268, etc. It was now pointed out by Prof. Sircar that this correct reading of the dates was first suggested by Sri Vasant Chowdhury and Sri Parimal Ray in June, 1970, and next by Dr. A. N. Lahiri in December, 1970. He further observed that, like himself, Dr. Lahiri also suggested the untrustworthiness of the *Rājamālā* tradition regarding the rule of no less than five kings between Ratnamāṇikya (dates Śaka 1386, etc.) and Dhanyamāṇikya (dates Śaka 1412, etc.) and thought that, of these five, only Dharmamāṇikya was historical and was probably the son of Ratna and the father of Dhanya. Prof. Sircar regarded this suggestion as wrong because a copper-plate inscription of Dharmamāṇikya is known to have been issued on Monday, *śuklā-trayodaśī*, *Meṣa-saṅkrānti* in the Śaka year counted by the words *śūnya* (i.e., zero), *aṣṭa* (i.e., eight) and *viṣṭa* (i.e., thirteen), i.e. in Śaka 1380.\* Significantly enough,

\* [There is a summary of this record in the *Rājamālā*. K. P. Sen's edition, Vol. II, p. 5, quotes the Sanskrit stanzas giving the date and the king's name along with their Bengali rendering. The date is given in Bengali as—*tera kṛta 24 Śaka Sonavāra dine/śukla pakṣa trayodaśī Meṣa-saṅkramaṇe* //

the date regularly corresponds to the 27th March, 1458 A.D. and thus proves that the record is genuine. Prof. Sircar suggested that Mahāmānikya's son Dharmamānikya therefore ruled earlier than Ratnamānikya and was probably the latter's father. This, Prof. Sircar thought, was an additional argument in favour of the suggestion regarding the late fabrication of the *Rajamāla*, etc., which he had offered in a paper published as early as 1948.

After the paper had been read, Prof. Sircar himself and the members present expressed their disappointment that circumstances prevented Dr. A. N. Lahiri, whose interest in the subject of the paper is well known, from attending the seminar. [See above, pp. 32, 3 3.]

## LIV

Thursday, the 16th December, 1971.

*Present* : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D. (in the chair) ; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M. A., D.Litt. ; Sri T. N. Chakraborty, M.A. ; Dr. D.R. Das, M.A., D.Phil. ; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M. A., LL. B., D. Phil. ; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M. A. ; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D. Phil. ; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M. A., D. Phil. ; Sri B. P. Mishra, M. A. ; Dr. Sm. J. Maitra, M. A., Ph. D. ; Sm. K. Bajpeyi, M. A. ; Sm. B. Chatterji, M. A. ; Sri A. Prasad, M.A. ; Miss R. Kahn ; Dr. H. N. Chatterjee ; and others.

*Proceedings* : Dr. H. N. Chatterjee of the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta, commented on Prof. D. C. Sircar's note entitled 'The Ten Forms of Marriage' read at the Centre's Monthly Seminar held on the 20th August, 1970 (cf. *JAIH*, Vol. IV, p. 306) and published in the *Indian Museum Bulletin*, Vol. V, No. 1. Prof. Sircar's note was based on Chap. 241 of the Nāgara-khaṇḍa section of the *Skanda Purāṇa*, which mentions the number of marriage forms as ten by adding the *Pratibha* and *Ghātana* to the well-known eight forms. Dr. Chatterjee thought that the passage is interpolated so that no importance should have been attached to it. He further observed that, a few years ago, he had published a paper in the *Calcutta Review* to prove that the *Svayamvara* form of marriage was recognised in Indian society as early as the days of the *Rgveda* and, therefore, *Svayamvara* should be added to the traditional eight forms and altogether nine forms of marriage should be recognised as prevalent in ancient India. Dr. Chatterjee cited certain authorities including the views of L. Sternbach.

The recently printed Vāṅīya Sāhitya Pariṣad manuscript of the *Rajamāla*, Agartala, 1967, p. 21, quotes the same date as *Ṣuṇy-āṣṭaka-Hara-neṭṛ-alka-mite S'āke*. The tradition is thus well established and there is no doubt about Dharmamānikya's grant and its date. See above, pp. 32-33 and note 9. —Ed.]

Prof. Sircar, however, did not attach any importance to Dr. Chatterjee's views. In the first place, he pointed out, the *Nāgara-khaṇḍa*, which was apparently composed in Gujarat not later than the late medieval period, speaks of the *Pratibha* and *Ghātana* forms of marriage as popular among the Śūdras and they must have been prevalent among the lower class people of the area at the time of its composition and may be prevalent even now. The Purāṇic author can hardly be supposed to have concocted two fictitious names in order to offer a list of ten marriages. Secondly, Prof. Sircar argued, if *Svayamvara* as a separate form of marriage was recognised since the Rgvedic age, all the early authorities would have quoted a list of nine forms and not of eight forms only as they actually do. This shows, in Prof. Sircar's opinion, that *Svayamvara* was either no form of marriage at all or was at least recognised as identical with one of the traditional eight forms of marriage. In this connection, Prof. Sircar drew Dr. Chatterjee's attention to scholars like Hopkins and Feer who believe that *Svayamvara* is not an independent form of marriage, but was derived from the *Prājāpatya* which is one of the well-known eight forms. While agreeing with Prof. Sircar, Sri B. P. Mishra pointed out that *Svayamvara* was merely the selection and no marriage and that is why Draupadī's wedding was performed sometime after she had been won by Arjuna in the *Svayamvara*. Sri Mishra argued further that *han+ghāṇ* would yield *ghāta* and not *ghātana*. He suggested the derivation *han+ṇic+lyuṭ=ghātana*.

2 Dr. A. K. Chatterjee read his paper entitled 'The Kekayas in Ancient India'. He traced the history of the Kekayas from the days of Aśvapati Kaikeya, mentioned for the first time in the *S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa*, and mentioned the Kekaya kings Sabasracitta and Śatayūpa referred to in the *Mahābhārata* and to the Kekaya capital Girivraja-Rājagṛha which stood on the bank of the Sudāman river mentioned in the *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* and *Rāmāyaṇa* as well as in the *Mahābhārata* (VII. 4.5). He also quoted the *Mahābhārata* (XI. 22.22) to show that the Kekayas accepted the suzerainty of the Sindhu king Jayadratha, son-in-law of the Kuru king Dhṛtarāṣṭra. Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that, while going to the Kekaya city, the messengers of Ayodhyā are stated to have crossed Mt. Sudāman near the Vipāsā so that, if the river Sudāmā had anything to do with this hill, it was not quite close to Girivraja of the Kekayas, which was situated of the Jhelam (Vitastā). Dr. Chatterjee thought that the Sudāmā river might have issued from Mt. Sudāman, but flowed towards the west.

3 Prof. D. C. Sircar exhibited twentytwo photographs of unburnt clay seals, which he had received, for examination, from Chao Khun Buddhādāsa Indapañño Mahāthero, Abbot of Wat Suwan Mokka Balārama of Chaiya (Suratdhani Province, Thailand) and Director of the local branch of the



National Museum, who pointed out that such seals had not previously been found in Thailand and Sumatra. The clay seals were found in the area about the Bay of Bandon and the adjoining territory south of the Surat-dhani Province down to the Malay Peninsula not, however, reaching as far south as Singapore.

The discovery of the seals, Prof. Sircar pointed out, shows the close contact of the Buddhists of the said region of Thailand with the Buddhist establishments of Eastern India, from the sites of which (such as Nalanda in Bihar) many such seals belonging to the early medieval period have been discovered. They also exhibit Mahāyāna influence on the early centres of Buddhism in that country which later adopted Hinayāna Buddhism from Ceylon. The figures and writings on the seals are damaged in most cases. The six photographs, Nos. II, IV, VI, VIII, X and XI, contain round impressions of what is the Buddhist formula, *ye dhammā*, etc., the first five of them being found on the back of the figures in Photographs Nos. I, III, V, VII and IX. Photographs Nos. VIII and XI have each a single impression; but Photographs Nos. II and VI exhibit each two impressions (the second below the first), and Photographs Nos. IV and X each five (four at the four corners and the fifth at the centre). The characters belong to the East Indian alphabet of about the ninth or tenth century A.D., some of the letters exhibiting a little local influence as in the case of the Vesālī inscription of Viracandra (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 109, Plate). Photographs Nos. XVI, XIX, XXI and XXII exhibit the same formula in two slightly curved vertically arranged lines of writing to the proper right of the figure of a four-armed deity seated on the *viśvapadma* with the right lower hand in the *varada* pose, the right upper one holding what looks like an *akṣamālā*, the left upper holding a lotus and the left lower resting on the left thigh. The said formula is found in seven small horizontal lines to the proper right of the representation of the same deity in the same posture and with the same attributes in Photographs No. XII to XV and XX. In these cases, however, the writing may be a little later. The two-armed figure in Photographs Nos. I, V and VII seems to represent the pot-bellied god Jambhala seated in the *mahārājajalā* or *ardhaparyāṅka* pose. There seem to be two slanting lines of writing on both sides of the deity's head, joining above it. There is no such writing in Photograph No. XVII exhibiting a ten-armed figure standing on a lotus and holding a lotus in the uppermost left hand, most of the other hands being damaged. Photograph No. XVIII shows a panel of six figures (the central Buddha figure seated with the right hand in *abhaya-mudrā* and legs hanging in the *bhadrāsana* pose and having a standing attendant figure on each side and three seated Bodhisattva figures above). Photographs Nos. III and IX exhibit another panel of nine figures (the seated Buddha in the *dharmacakra*-

*pravartana-mudrā* at the centre with eight seated Bodhisattva figures all around). Of these, Nos. III and XVIII do not contain any writing; but No. IX shows the Buddhist formula in a few small unequal lines in spaces above and below the central Buddha figure. The characters belong to about the tenth or eleventh century A. D.

Dr. D. R. Das observed that, outside India, similar seals have been found from Pagan and Hmawza (Prome) in Burma and the finds were reported in *ARASI*, 1905-06, Plate LIII; 1909-10, Plate XLIX; 1911-12, pp. 145-46.

#### LV

Wednesday, the 19th January, 1972

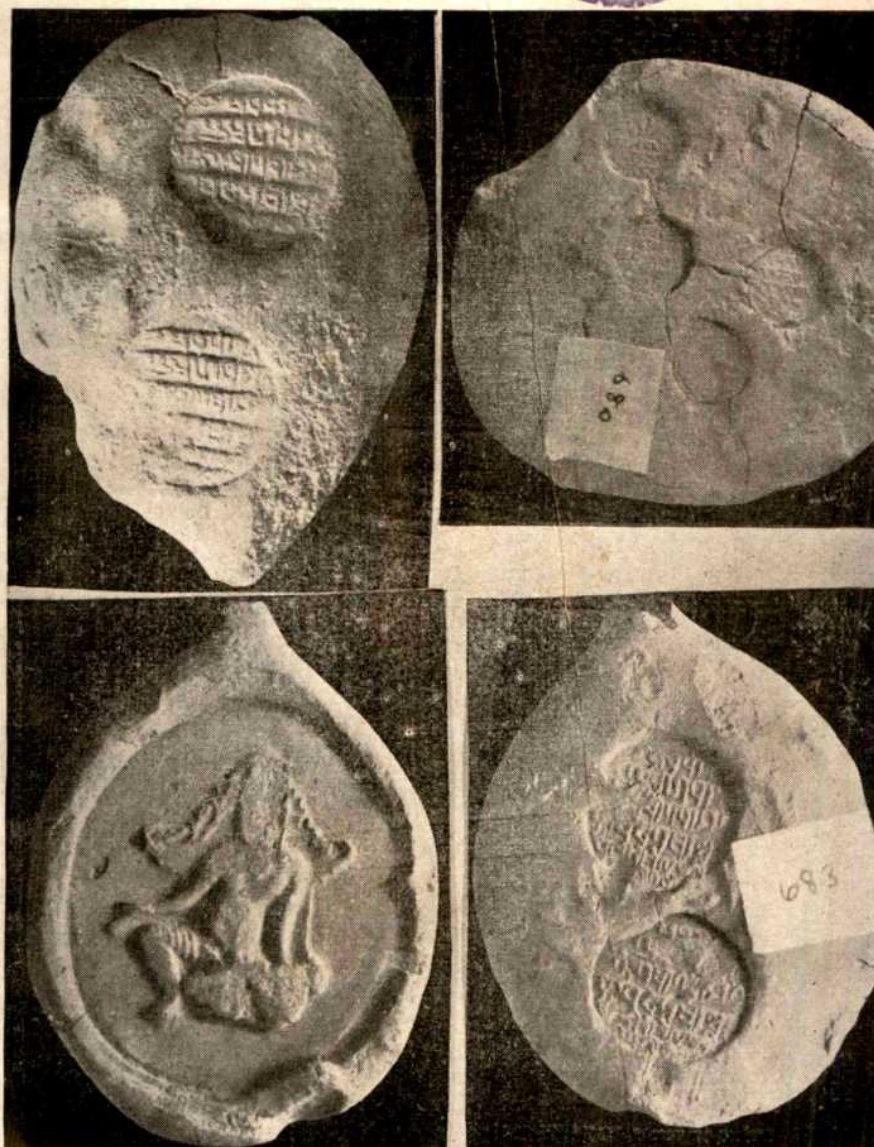
**Present :** Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D. (in the chair); Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M. A., D. Litt.; Dr. S. K. Mitra, M. A., LL. B., D. Phil.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M. A., LL. B., D. Phil.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M. A.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M. A., D. Phil.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M. A., D. Phil.; Dr. S. P. Singh, M. A., D. Phil.; Dr. Sm. J. Maitra, M. A., Ph. D.; Sm. K. Bajpeyi, M. A.; Sm. B. Chatterjee, M. A.; Sm. M. Sengupta, M. A.; Sri R. K. Billorey, M. A.; Sri A. Prasad, M. A.; Sri S. K. Das, M. A.; and others.

**Proceedings :** Before the commencement of the work of the Seminar, Prof. D. C. Sircar referred to the untimely demise of Mr. David J. McCutcheon who was a keen and zealous student of late mediaeval Bengali art and architecture. The members stood in silence for two minutes in honour of the departed soul.

2: Sri Adhir K. Chakravarti of the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta, read his paper entitled 'The Forms of Marriage in Ancient India', in which he discussed different forms of marriage as prescribed in the *Smṛti* and other texts. In this connexion, he referred to the different types of *Svayamvara* which, according to him, was merely a variation of the *Gāndharva* form of marriage. He did not agree with Dr. H. N. Chatterjee, who had discussed the problem in the previous Monthly Seminar held on the 16th December, 1971, and had suggested that the *Svayamvara* should be regarded as the ninth form of marriage, even though the said views were not accepted by Prof. D. C. Sircar and others. Sri Chakravarti then referred to Prof. Sircar's note entitled 'Ten Forms of Marriage' in which attention has been drawn to two additional types, viz., *Prātibha* and *Ghātana*, as mentioned in a *Skanda Purāṇa* passage (VI. 241. 36). Sri Chakravarti was of the opinion that, in the *Kusa Jātaka* (No. 531) story, also occurring in the *Mahāvastu Avadāna* (ed. Basak, Vol. II, pp. 594-98); there is an indirect reference to the *Prātibha* marriage which, he thought, means marriage by proxy as already suggested



PLATE XI



Figs. 1-4. Clay Seals from Thailand, Nos. II (back of No. I), IV (back of No. II), V (front of No. III) and VI (back of No. III). See pp. 366-68.

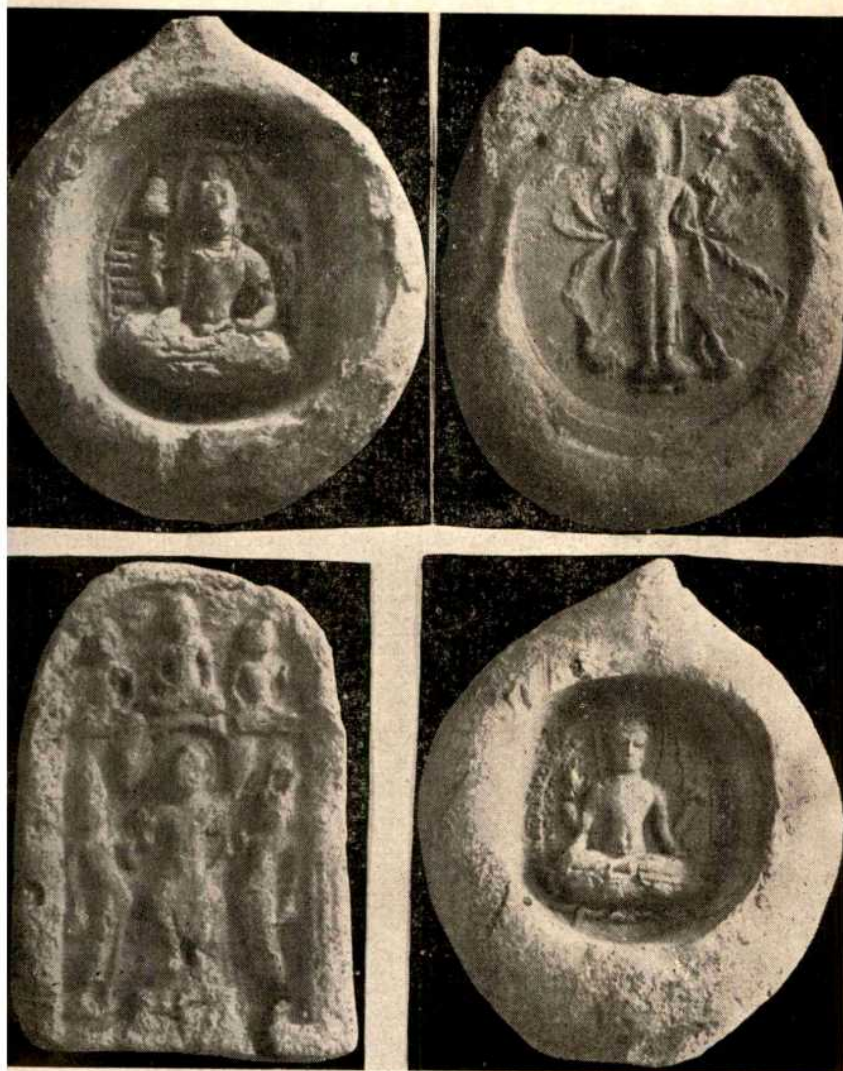
PLATE XII



Figs. 5-8. Clay Seals from Thailand, Nos. VIII (back of No. IV), IX (front of No. V), X (back of No. V) and XI. See pp. 366-68.



PLATE XIII



s. 9-12. Clay Seals from Thailand, Nos. XIII, XVII, XVIII and XXII. See pp. 366-68.

by Dr. Sm. J. Maitra and hesitatingly accepted by Prof. Sircar. Regarding the *Ghātana* form of marriage, mentioned in the *Skanda Purāṇa*, Sri Chakravarti observed that it may refer to the abduction of Hindu girls by the Muslims. In his opinion, the names *Kālayavana* and *Mleccha* are employed in the *Nāgara-khaṇḍa* to mean the Muslims.

Dr. S. K. Mitra observed that marriage by proxy has nothing to do with the Hindu system of marriage because *sampradāna* was essential in all the eight forms of Hindu marriage and, without it, no marriage was considered legal. Prof. Sircar, however, rejected Dr. Mitra's contention and pointed out that *sampradāna* (the ceremonial offering of the bride by her father or guardian to the bridegroom) and the consequent *gotrāntara* (the change of the bride's *gotra* from the father's to the husband's) were absent in several forms of marriage including *Gāndharva* in which the bride and bridegroom could become husband and wife without any reference to their parents or guardians. Dr. Mitra referred to his paper appearing in the *Our Heritage* and observed that, even in the *Svayamvara* ceremony, the bride had to depend upon her father's choice since most of the participants were the invited guests of the father. He did not attach any importance to the *Kusa Jātaka* story which, according to him, does not prove the existence of marriage by proxy, but merely refers to a stratagem employed by the Śākala queen. Prof. Sircar observed that the absence of *sampradāna* and *gotrāntara* is proved by the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* (I. 26. 21-22) and *Parāśaramādhava* (Jha, *Manusmṛiti*, Part II, p. 160) and inscriptions like those found at Andhau and others belonging to the Śātavāhanas and Vākāṭakas, as shown by him in a paper on *Gotrāntara* in 1945, later incorporated in his *Stud. Soc. Adm.*, Vol. I. As regards *Kālayavana* mentioned in the *Nāgara-khaṇḍa*, Prof. Sircar said that the name seems to have been originally applied to the Negroes of Africa, though later it may have been used to indicate the Muhammadans. In his opinion, *Svayamvara* was probably a mixture of *Prājāpatya* and *Gāndharva*. Sri R. K. Bhattacharya wanted to connect *Prātibha* with *pratibhā* which was, however, not acceptable to Prof. Sircar.

After the seminar, Dr. A. K. Chatterjee drew Dr. Mitra's attention to the *Gāndharva* marriage of Śakuntalā and Duṣyanta as described in the *Ādi-parvan* [and the *Śākuntala*—Ed.] and pointed out that there was no possibility of *sampradāna* in this case. Prof. Sircar also pointed out to Dr. Mitra that Bhāratacandra's description of the *Gāndharva* marriage of Sundara and Vidyā likewise indicates a marriage without *sampradāna* because, in this case, the bride herself entered into wedlock with the bridegroom—*kanyākartā haila kanyā varakartā var*. He further observed that sometimes, even in such marriages, the father of the bride may have performed, if he so desired, the usual marriage rites including *sampradāna*.

[The note has been published above, pp. 226-35.]

3. Sri R. K. Billorey read his note entitled 'Emaciated Figure from Lāñjī' in which he identified an emaciated dancing figure with Bhairava, the expression of whose face is not terrible while the attributes of the two hands are *abhaya-mudrā* and *khatvāṅga*. He pointed out that similar images of Bhairava have been found from Ellora, Badami and the Bastar region of Madhya Pradesh. Dr. Sm. J. Maitra doubted whether the attribute of the left hand is really *khatvāṅga*; but Sri Billorey was sure about the attribute.

[The note has been published above, pp. 240-41.]

#### LVI

Tuesday, the 22nd February, 1972

**Present :** Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D. (in the chair); Dr. S. K. Mitra, M. A., LL. B., D. Phil.; Sri T. N. Chakraborty, M. A.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M. A., LL. B., D. Phil.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M. A.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M. A., D. Phil.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M. A., D. Phil.; Dr. S. P. Singh, M. A., D. Phil.; Dr. Sm. J. Maitra, M. A., Ph. D.; Sm. K. Bajpeyi, M. A.; Sri B. P. Mishra, M. A.; Sri A. K. Jha, M. A.; Sm. M. Sengupta, M. A.; Sri S. Bandyopadhyay, M. A.; Sri S. K. Das, M. A.; and others.

**Proceedings :** Before the commencement of the work of the Seminar, Prof. D. C. Sircar referred to the sad and untimely demise of Dr. Buddha Prakash, Professor of the Kurukshetra University. He observed that Dr. Buddha Prakash not only knew many languages, but was fully dedicated to the study of early Indian history. Prof. Sircar pointed out that there were occasions on which he differed from the views expressed by Dr. Buddha Prakash, but that it never diminished his esteem for the great energy exhibited by Dr. Buddha Prakash in the matter of study and research. The members stood in silence for two minutes in honour of the departed soul.

2. Sri S. K. Das read his paper entitled 'Mīr Jumla's Peace with the Ahoms' in which he differed from Jagadish Narayan Sarkar who believes that, in his contest with the Ahoms, Mīr Jumla succeeded in securing peace with honour. According to Sri Das, Mīr Jumla's campaign against the Ahoms was a disastrous failure, for the most important stipulations of the treaty such as the balance of indemnity and territorial cessions seem never to have been carried out and remained practically a dead letter. Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that, although Mīr Jumla passed a considerable period in Assam, the Ahoms were not strong enough to defeat him. He thought that the invasion did not result in permanent Mughul conquests in Assam mainly because Mīr Jumla died soon after his return and that this led to the discontinuation of the aggressive policy on the part of the Mughuls.

3. Prof D. C. Sircar read his note on 'Ptolemy's Observations on Some Localities in India Intra Gangem'. He pointed out that Ptolemy's Geography mostly contains lists of places together with their latitudes and longitudes calculated according to his own system which was defective. Only in a few cases, Prof. Sircar said, Ptolemy supplies special information on particular places ; e.g. Mathurā is called 'the city of gods' ; Palibothra (Pāṭaliputra) is described as the capital of a king or kingdom, whose name is not mentioned ; Ozene (Ujjayini) is called the capital of Tiastenes (Caṣṭana) and Barthana (Pratiṣṭhāna) the capital of Siroptolemaios (Śrī-Pulumāyi) ; a locality in the southernmost region of India is described as a habitat of the Maga-Brāhmanas (i.e. the ancient Persian priests settled in India), and the like. Dr. A. K. Chatterjee doubted the mention of Gaṅgāsāgara in the *Periplus* and the identification of the Gangaridae with the Vaṅgas. Prof. Sircar observed that the combined evidence of the *Periplus* and Ptolemy's Geography speaks of the river Gaṅgā passing through the country called Gaṅgā on the sea-shore, the chief city of which was Gaṅgā and the inhabitants were called Gangaridae while, he further pointed out, Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa* locates the Vaṅga people in the same land watered by the mouths of the Gaṅgā. Prof. Sircar also said that *Gangaridae* is a plural form like *Sassanidae* (the Sassanians) derived from *Sassan* through *Sassanid*. Dr. Chatterjee drew attention to the separate mention of Madurai, i. e. Mathurā in South India. Prof. Sircar said that Mathurā, mentioned by Ptolemy as the capital of the Pāṇḍya king, is described in the same way by Pliny (c. 23-79 A. D.) while the Pāṇḍya people, mentioned in the Edicts of Aśoka (c. 269-232 B. C.) and a *Varttika* (on Pāṇini, IV. 1.66) of Kātyāyana (4th century B. C.), were probably known to Megasthenese who speaks of Pandaia, the queen of South India ruling as far as the ocean.

[The note has been published above, pp. 247ff. ]

#### LVII.

Monday, the 13th March, 1972

**Present :** Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D. (in the chair) ; Dr. S. K. Mitra, M. A., LL. B., D. Phil. ; Sri T. N. Chakraborty, M. A. ; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M. A., LL. B., D. Phil. ; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M. A. ; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. S. P. Singh, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. Sm. J. Maitra, M. A., Ph. D. ; Sm. K. Bajpeyi, M. A. ; Sri B. P. Mishra, M. A. ; Sri A. K. Jha, M. A. ; Sm. M. Sengupta, M. A. ; Sri S. Bandyopadhyay, M. A. ; Dr. A. V. Gerasimov (Moscow) ; and others.

**Proceedings :** Sri R. K. Billorey read his paper on 'Ritualistic Art of the



Nimar Region of Madhya Pradesh'. He pointed out that the womenfolk of that area, as in other parts of India, give vent to their artistic capabilities in wall and floor decorations made for particular rituals and festivals such as Jirctī, Nāgapāṇicāmī, Dussera (Vijayādaśamī), Bhrātr-dvitiyā and others. The clay figures made for the Sāñji, Gaṅgaur and Gaṇeśacaturthī festivals also bear the traditional folk character. The figures in the mural decorations bear striking affinity with the primitive rock-shelter paintings of Central India on the one hand and the tribal art of the region on the other. The motifs and symbols depicted in the ritualistic art of different parts of India bear close resemblance suggesting a common source of inspiration such as common beliefs, practices and art traditions inherited from the remote past.

Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that, in the ritualistic art of Bengal also, similar motifs are noticed. Sri Billorey said that he has referred to such affinities in his paper. In reply to a question from Dr. D. R. Das, Sri Billorey said that the wall and floor decorations are made not only in the homes of the Brāhmaṇas, but also in those of other communities in the villages, and that the colours used are, in most cases, minerals.

2 Prof. D. C. Sircar read his note entitled 'Derivation of the Clan or Family Name Maurya' in which an attempt was made to prove that Pali *Moriya*=Sanskrit *Maurya* was essentially the name of a clan to which Candragupta, founder of the Moriya or Maurya dynasty belonged according to the Ceylonese chronicles of the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. However, Prof. Sircar pointed out, a few late authors explained the name *Maurya* as 'the son of Murā, and the grammarians are divided on the issue, some considering the derivation acceptable, but others thinking it to be inadmissible. Prof. Sircar pointed out that Viśākhadatta's *Mudrārākṣasa*, composed about the close of the 6th century A.D., clearly goes against the said derivation because it mentions Candragupta not only as *Maurya*, but also as *Maurya-putra* used apparently in the same sense. Here *Maurya-putra* certainly means 'a scion of the Maurya clan', and there are numerous expression in literature and inscriptions illustrating this pleonastic sense, e. g., *Sibi* and *Sibi-putta*, etc. Prof. Sircar further pointed out, citing the commentary on the *Mahāvāṇsa*, that even medieval authors were not sure about associating *Moriya*=*Maurya* with *mora*=*mayūra*, 'a peacock'.

Dr. A. V. Gerasimov said that he would be glad to have a copy of Prof. Sircar's note for submitting it to Dr. G.M. Bongard-Levin of Moscow, who is now engaged in writing on the Maurya dynasty. Prof. Sircar agreed to send to Dr. Gerasimov, a typescript of the note.

[The note has been published above, pp. 242 ff.]

## LVIII

Monday, the 17th April, 1972

*Present* ; Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D. (in the chair) ; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., D. Phil. ; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. N.N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil. ; Dr. S. P. Singh, M.A., D. Phil. ; Dr. Sm. J. Maitra, M. A., Ph.D. ; Sm. K. Bajpeyi, M.A. ; Sm. B. Chatterjee, M.A. ; Sri A. K. Jha, M.A. ; Sri S. Bandyopadhyay, M. A. ; Sri A. Prasad, M.A. ; Sm. C. Sengupta, M.A. ; Sm. M. Mukhopadhyay, M.A. ; Sri Parimal Ray ; Sri Vasant Chowdhury ; Sri Sunil Kumar Das, M.A. ; Sri Lalit Kumar Pramanik, M. A. ; and others.

*Proceedings* : Sri Vasant Chowdhury and Sri Parimal Ray read a paper entitled 'Coin-types of the Kings of Kachār' in which they surveyed the coin-types of the Kachārī kings from Yaśonārāyaṇa to Govindacandra. An emphasis was laid by the authors on the religious leanings of the kings as indicated by the reverse devices of the coins. They pointed out how the legend in the Sanskrit language gives the name of the issuers on the obverse and indicate their devotion to Śiva or the combined form of Śiva-Śakti (Hara-Gaurī) on the reverse. Prof. D. C. Sircar drew attention to the beautiful representation of a gold coin of Indravallabha bearing the bust of Hara-Gaurī, described by Sri Chowdhury and Sri Ray, and pointed out that the representation is not of the composite form of the two deities, known as Ardhanārīśvara, but of Hara and Gaurī separately. He observed that the expression *Hara-Gaurī* does not necessarily mean the Ardhanārīśvara form. Prof. Sircar further remarked that the side bearing the king's name followed by the date in the Śāka era appears to be the reverse of the coins and not the obverse as supposed by some numismatists followed by Sri Chowdhury and Sri Ray. Sri S. K. Das wanted to know whether there is any mention of the title *Phā* on the coins of the Kachārī kings. Sri Ray replied in the negative. Prof. Sircar observed that the said title occurs only on the early coins of the Ahom kings of Assam and not on the issues of later Ahom kings nor of any other ruling family of Eastern India, even though the title seems to have been in use in Kachār and Tripurā. Sri Das further wanted to know whether the Kachārīs borrowed the title *Phā* from the Ahoms. Prof. Sircar replied that it was possible, though it is difficult to determine the truth in this matter. [ The paper has been published above, pp. 204 ff. ]

2. Sri S. K. Das then read a paper entitled 'Disposal of the Dead among the Ahoms' in which he described some significant customs observed by the Ahoms, viz., the system of embalming by means of chemicals prepared with *hiṅgul* (cinnabar) and *hālāl* (yellow arsenic), the construction of the vault, the transportation of the coffin to the royal cemetery, placing nume-

rous articles including treasures into the vault, and burying alive of human beings and quadrupeds, etc., along with the deceased king. With the Ahom kings' adoption of the Hindu religion and practices, Sri Das pointed out, cremation was preferred and the old practice of burial was gradually given up. Prof. Sircar observed that the customs followed by the Ahoms were also found elsewhere. He further pointed out that Sri Das's mention of placing a huble-buble in the vault is interesting since it shows that the custom is later than the sixteenth century when tobacco was introduced into India. The spread of its use in Assam, in Prof. Sircar's opinion, may be assigned to the seventeenth century. Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya said that smoking is an old custom; but Prof. Sircar observed that smoking of medical herbs referred to in the *Sufrutasamhitā* and smoking of hemp, which did not require any huble-buble, is different from smoking tobacco. He emphasised the absence of words for tobacco and huble-buble in early Indian literature. Sri S. K. Das remarked that there was a flourishing trade of *Dha-pāt* (a kind of tobacco) between Assam and Bengal. Sri V. Chowdhury observed that the rulers mentioned by the author are of the late period when huble-buble had already been introduced in Assam. [*Dha-pāt*=*Dhomvā-patar*=*dhūmra-patra*, 'tobacco'.—Ed.]

3. Prof. D. C. Sircar then read a paper entitled 'Berlin Museum Inscription of Aśokavalla'. He said how an illustration of the inscription, discovered at Bodhgaya long ago, was published by Cunningham in his *Mahābodhi*, London, 1892. The only attempt to study the epigraph, Prof. Sircar said, was made by N. G. Majumdar in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLVIII, 1919, p. 45, though he did not try to decipher beyond the beginning of line 11 and his transcript contains some serious errors. A photograph and a silicone cast of the inscription (No. I. 1141) were sent to Prof. Sircar, at his request, by Prof. H. Haertel, Director of the Museum für Indische Kunst, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, West Berlin. The decipherment and interpretation of the inscription are both difficult owing to inefficient drafting and careless engraving. It records a grant issued by *Piṭhipati Ācārya* Buddhāsena from Śrīmad-Vikramapāṭaka in favour of *Bhikṣu Paṇḍita* Dharmarakṣita who was highly respected by *Rājan* Aśokavalla and was the *guru* of the *Kamā-rāja* (sic—ruler of the Kāma country). The declaration regarding the grant was made to the inhabitants and cultivators of the *Mahābodhi-vṛtti* (rent-free property attached to the Buddhist establishment at Bodhgaya) to the effect that it was granted to Dharmarakṣita to whom now they would have to pay taxes, etc. It is stipulated that those Ceylonese monks at Mahābodhi, who were then away in Ceylon, should have to be suitably re-settled by Dharmarakṣita on their return. The deed was given to the donee in the presence of *Sādhanaika Rāṇaka* Brahmadhara, *Māṇḍalika* Sahajapāla,

*Paṇḍita* Brahman and others. There is no date ; but, Prof. Sircar pointed out, Buddhasena is known to have met the Tibetan pilgrim Dharmasvāmin in 1235 A.D.

In the same context, Prof. Sircar admitted that his comment on Bhandarkar's views assigning Aśokavalla of the Khasa country in Sapādalakṣa and his subordinate Puruṣottamasinha of the Kāma country to the Kumaun-Garhwal region is unjustified and that his own location of the territories of the said rulers in Rajasthan (*Problems of Kuṣāṇa and Rājput History*, pp. 79-80) are not correct because an inscription of Aśokavalla discovered at Gopeśvar in Garhwal was published by Indrajī in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X. Prof. Sircar pointed out that he had been misled by the omission of any reference to this inscription in Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions.

Sm. M. Mukherjee wanted to know whether there is only one inscription of Aśokavalla. Prof. Sircar said that there are several inscriptions of the king at Bodhgayā and only one in Garhwal. Sm. Mukherjee then wanted to know how he could be associated with Kumaun-Garhwal and Gaya at the same time. Prof. Sircar answered that he was a Buddhist king of the Kumaun-Garhwal region, but that he came to Bodhgayā on pilgrimage and stayed for a considerable period at the holy place.

### ADDENDUM

*Sri Vasant Chowdhury and Sri Parimal Ray sent us the following observations in respect of the coins of Ratnamāṇikya and Dhanyamāṇikya of Tripurā (cf. above, pp. 362-63 ; cf. pp. 27 ff.).*

Among the Tripurā rulers, Ratnamāṇikya was the first and Dhanyamāṇikya the second to strike coins. Ratna's earliest dated coins were issued in Śāka 1386 (1464 A.D.). Our investigation shows that he used about twenty different dies. The date appears on coins bearing marginal legend and also on two other types (see Brajendra Chandra Datta, *Udaypur Vivaraṇ*, p. 34, Nos. 6-7). So far we have noticed three different legends inscribed around the margin of the coins struck in Śāka 1386 : 1. *Ś'ri-Durgā-ārā-dhan-āpta-vijayaḥ Ratnapure Ś'ra(Ś'a)ka 1386* ; 2. *Ś'ri-Durgā-pada-para Ratnapure Ś'ra(Ś'a)ka 1386* ; 3. *Ś'ri-Nārāyaṇa-caraṇa-para Ratnapure Ś'ra(Ś'a)ka 1386*. For 1 and 3, see Datta, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-34, and see D.C. Sircar, above, p. 35, for No. 1 and No. 2 (where the date is read as '1387').

After Ratna's coins issued between Śāka 1386 and 1389, we come across Śāka 1412 on the earliest coins of Dhanyamāṇikya. Dhanya's coins resemble the issues of Ratna, which again bear resemblance with the coins of the Sultāns of Bengal. The coins of the two Tripurā kings are silver *ṭaṅkas*.

The coinage of Tripurā, usually bears the device of a grotesque lion on

the reverse with the exception of two types of Ratna. See Datta, *op. cit.*, p. 34, No. 3 with *Śrī-śrī-Ra-/ tnamāñi-/ kyadevaḥ* on the obverse and *śrī-Nārā-/ yāṇa-cara-/ ṇa-para* on the reverse ; and No. 6 with *Śrī-Lakṣmī-/ mahādevi-śrī-śrī-Ratna-/ māñikyau* on the obverse and *Pārvaṭi-Pa-/ rameśvara ca-/ raṇa-parau* on the reverse. The lion is drawn either in a linear form or in relief, and both designs appear respectively on the earlier and later coins of Ratnamāñikya. The same linear lion motif appears on the round and hexagonal coins of Sultān Jalāluddīn Muḥammad Shāh (Bhattasali, *Coins and Chronology of the Early Independent Sultans of Bengal*, Pl. X: 9).

The coins of Dhanyamāñikya generally have no marginal legend, though Datta (*op. cit.*, p. 34, No. 5) quotes the marginal legend of one of his issues as *Śrī-śrī-Rāma Rāma-2-caraṇa-parāyaṇa*. [This may be a mistake for *Śrī-Narasimha-caraṇa-parāyaṇa*. *Rāma-Rāma-2* may be really *Rāma 2*. Datta noticed the date *Śāka 1412* on one such coin.—Ed.] Recently, three of his coins bearing marginal legend have come to our notice. The marginal legend on these coins is around the issuer's name, while on the coins of Ratnamāñikya, it appears around the lion motif.

Two of the three coins are in the Heberdene Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford ; but the marginal writing on them is much obliterated. The legend on the third coin (a silver *ṭanka* measuring 24.9 mms. and weighing 10.60 gms.) in the possession of Mr. G. S. Beed of Calcutta runs as follows : *Śrī-śrī-Dha-/ nyamāñi-/ kyadevaḥ* in the centre and *Śrī-Narasimha-/ caraṇa-parāyaṇa/ Śubham=asttu/ Śāka [1412]* around on the obverse, and grotesque lion to left with upturned tail and circlet over mane on the reverse.

fertility seems to have been a vernal and fundamental one. Indeed, the notion of a female principle endowed with supernatural power capable of animating the world, is an age-old belief and has been recognised from unrecorded times not only in India, but also in many tribal and rural semi-agricultural and agricultural societies in other parts of the world. The natural and obvious comparison of the breeding plant with the breeding women has been the source of the origin of the kindred Greek conception of the corn-mother and the *vrkṣakās* and *śalabhāñjikas* of India. The fact of fertilisation and breeding, that is, the spirit of the mother, being manifest most in vegetal nature, naturally called for recognition of the special guardianship of the female spirit which not merely brings productivity under control, but also in consequence affects other aspects of life. This treatise attempts to study the nature and character of the social life, ideas and institutions of the people of ancient India, as affected by the cult of the mother goddess, on facts and arguments from literature, archaeology and anthropology.

Womanly conditions which are attributed to the earth, it is argued, is a concept which is non-Vedic in origin. It was only after a considerable integration of the aboriginals and evolution of a relatively unified culture in the early historical period that the conception of a mother as the sustaining force of life was introduced, to begin with, as a contra-energy opposite to a male deity, Viṣṇu, for instance. Naturally, certain rituals had to be evolved, rituals centering round the female and male genital organs. The worship of the *yoni* and the *līṅga*, symbolising respectively the corn-yielding earth and the fertilising instrument, was the evident response to this form of religious belief. Out of this abstract principle of fertilisation and birth there emerged also certain other sex-rites associated with or symbolical of the divine union of male and female principles. Such rites and rituals have been, through the centuries, so closely inter-woven into the texture of India's socio-religious life that it is not at all easy to disentangle them and trace them to their origin or locate them in time and space. To cite one instance. A student of Indian religions knows that, in its origin, the conception of the mother was that of a blood-thirsty, cruel and relentless goddess; but slowly and steadily she was transformed into a kind, benevolent and blissful protectress. [To a child, the mother is, at the same time, a source of fear and an object of attachment. —Ed.] The former was not however given up altogether, but both came to co-exist. The story of this transformation and co-existence have been studied and analysed by more scholars than one, and quite competently. And yet one cannot say that one knows whatever there is to know about the phenomenon. Nevertheless certain significant break-throughs were made in the meantime: one such instance has been provided by Ramaprasad Chanda who was perhaps the first to suggest that the Paurāṇic Śakti cult, which is

still alive and potent, may have originated from the primitive mother goddess cult.

Dr. Bhattacharya follows the same line of investigation; but he has widened the scope of enquiry and has drawn extensively from similar fertility and mother rites and rituals in other parts of the world. The method of narration and analysis he has adopted is less of an antiquarian and historian and more of a sociologist and anthropologist, and his approach is frankly influenced by materialistic philosophy, one of the postulates of which is that the historical environment of any given society is basically determined by the mode of production that obtains in that society. Indian economy being essentially and predominantly agricultural and this agriculture being pursued, from early times until recently, by means of rudimentary techniques, the author argues on the basis of this approach, one need not be surprised to find many survivals in the forms of socio-religious beliefs and observances, ideas and institutions, etc., from primitive and prehistoric tribal and peasant societies. The memory of and ideas and observances relating to the mother and fertility rites seem to be the result of one such survival along with many others of this kind. How through the passage of time, Indian society, particularly in its higher grades, tried to reach towards and maintain a balance between such early survivals and the requirements of a patrilineal social organisation, can best be seen in the behaviour pattern of the Nair caste of Kerala, where the mother comes from a matrilineal tradition while the father does so from the patrilineal Nambudri Brāhmanas.

The author has shown, what a few others too have done, that in the matrilineal tradition the woman is highly esteemed and enjoys a superior position. Draupadī's polyandrous marriage and the recognition of the Mādrīkas and the Kaunteyas are indeed realities of the Indian social situation. [This seems to be based on misunderstanding.—Ed.] There is enough evidence to show that despite increasing intrusion of patriarchal rites, ideas and behaviour patterns insisted upon by the Brāhmanical Smṛtis and Purāṇas, the old matrilineal tradition did persist as it does even today. The subordinate position of the *Puruṣa* in the *Sāṃkhya* philosophy was, according to the author, due entirely to the popularity of the mother-cult. [It is difficult to determine the truth of this.—Ed.] The same was the reason, the author argues, for the importance of *Sakti* in Tantrism.

Since the author's approach is, by his own admission, more anthropo-sociological, one wishes he undertook an analytical survey of a few selected tribes and communities wherein rites and practices, directly or indirectly derived from matriarchy or matriliney, were still active and potent and wherein the cult of the mother goddess was still a force to be reckoned with in the matter of social identity and cohesiveness. A close study of such contem-

porary rites and practices and of the behaviour patterns of individuals and groups and a critical comparison with those of the past, would have perhaps lent to his thesis not only a methodological support, but also a more convincing argument.

As a bye-product of his main thesis, Bhattacharya advances a subsidiary one, a very bold and highly speculative one which, at the present state of our knowledge of the theme, may not have easy acceptance. His argument which concerns the transformation of Indian society, from the tribal communities of pre-Buddha times to wider social groups of the Buddha's own times and later, is as follows. Round about the seventh and sixth centuries before Christ, because of increasing use of iron, certain technical innovations and other reasons, new crafts and industries and growing importance of trade and commerce were bringing about a new quickening of life all along the limitless forest areas of the Mid- and East-Gangetic areas. This inevitably led to the growth of a number of cities of various descriptions; evidently in response to demands made by increasing activities in crafts and industries, trade and commerce. Early Buddhist texts bear testimony to this. [But they are later.—Ed.]. Bhattacharya argues, it seems, that this meaningful transformation called for, very naturally, a new social ideology, which in its turn, led to a new intellectual movement and the leaders of this movement offered various ideologies, each according to his way of thinking. Ajita Keśakambalin and Makkhali Gosāla, for instance, stood up for a purely materialist ideology that would have meant a more or less total break from the tribal way of life and all that it meant. Gautama Śākyamuni, the Buddha, seems to have worked out a different ideology which, amongst other things, laid down non-possession of any property of one's own as one of its cardinal principles. Following this principle the Buddhist monastic order was organized and conducted more or less on the same principles that used to govern contemporary tribal communities and societies. As in the latter, the *saṅghas* too, stood for a more equitable distribution of social wealth and a more balanced relationship between universal human values and particularised social values. The author argues that the Buddha, despite all his knowledge and wisdom, wanted to retain as much as he could of the traditional tribal values and conceived the *saṅgha* as an 'ideal substitute for the vanished way of life', and this in the face of the evolving new values of a rising urban society and sustained by crafts and industries and trade and commerce. The message he propounded were directed towards the social order he had in view included also the kings and princes, nobles and rich *gṛhapatis*, *śreṣṭhins* and *sāṁthavāhas* who must have all been drawn towards the new emerging social values. Naturally therefore the Buddha was obliged to accept the new social hierarchies which involved the acceptance of inequitable distribution



of social wealth. The author argues that this could not but be reflected in the *saṃghas* as well; he finds sufficient proof of this in such words and phrases like *mahāśramaṇa*, *mahāsthavira* and the like. What was happening therefore was a sort of adjustment between tribal values on the one hand and the new values on the other. But in the meanwhile the Aryan social ideology of a patriarchal and patrilineal society and social institution meant for upholding that ideology were increasingly gaining ground, evidently at the expense of tribal societies and institutions, but never in such a manner as to wipe the latter out altogether. Here too, therefore, a slow adjustment was taking place, and whatever the theoretical supremacy claimed for the Aryan ideas and institutions, in practice tribal ideas and institutions continued to survive, at the lower levels of society, at any rate, and tribal deities continued to be equated with the Brāhmanical gods and goddesses as much as the tribal matriarchal tradition continued to affect the Aryan patriarchal. [It is difficult to accept such speculations.—Ed.]

Here is thus a point of view and an interpretation which deserve consideration, one would like to think.

Sm. AMITA RAY

#### LXV

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN MEGALITHS by K. C. Ramchandran, published by the State Department of Archaeology, Government of Tamilnadu, 1971, pp. 184. Price 12.50.

Of all the Indian archaeological categories, the Megaliths should be considered the most baffling. Their occurrence is wide enough to suggest three broad regional distributions: North-Western, Peninsular and Extra-Peninsular. If in the South they are found to go back to about 900 B. C. [This seems to be biased and dubious.—Ed.], in some parts of East India they constitute living customs. Some typological mapping has been done for the South; but a vast stretch of India still remains to be mapped typologically. The types of site range from a lone menhir to the huge and extensive gravelly urn-burial site of Adichanallur set against the rice-fields of Tirunelveli. An association with iron is wide-spread; but there are also exceptions. The theories offered to explain their origin have never been consistent. Skulls have been measured, but have hardly led to any specific ethnic pattern. An identification of the megalith-builders with the Dravidian language speakers is a fair guess for the south; but does it imply that the Dravidian language came to stay in that area only with the Megaliths?

To those who are interested in these problems, Ramchandran's

Bibliography should come as a very necessary tool of research. In fact, it is the first bibliography on an Indian prehistoric subject since the publication of H. C. Dasgupta's 'Bibliography of Indian Prehistoric Antiquities' in 1931. Here he has summarised, authorwise, the basic content of about 150 years of Indian Megalithic research. Considering the number of papers produced and the different places in which they have been scattered, this is by no means a mean achievement.

This bibliography has been further enriched by an introduction by Thapar who sums up the present available knowledge in a clear and concise fashion. The introduction should be very useful to any student of the subject. Besides, there are a number of illustrations showing the megalithic types, a map on their distribution, a comparative table of nomenclatures based on Krishnaswamy, Taylor, Mackenzie and Beeks, two indexes and a glossary of terms used.

It may, however, be pointed out that Ramachandran's reference to the literature on the living megalithic custom of India is somewhat limited. He could have explored more in the different reports on Indian tribes. Obviously he has been more interested in those megaliths which may lay some claim to antiquity. In India, however, the importance of the ancient megaliths as a cultural trait may be better appreciated with reference to similar modern practices.

We wonder if Ramachandran could not give in an appendix a historical survey of the development of ideas about the Indian megaliths. In view of the years and the number of workers involved, this might have turned out to be an interesting study.

These points of criticism notwithstanding, the present bibliography should be an essential item in the library of anyone interested in the Indian megalithic trait.

DILIP K. CHAKRABARTI

#### LXVI

A HISTORY OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS by Dr. Shri Ram Goyal, published by Central Book Depot, Allahabad, 1967; pages xxiv+432 with a map.

The present work embodies Dr. Goyal's thesis approved by the University of Gorakhpur for the Ph. D. degree and is a learned treatise written in six chapters. Chapter I (pp. 1-40) contains an analysis of the methods and techniques of studying the different kinds of sources (pp. 1-28) for the recons-

struction of the history of Guptas along with an account (pp. 29-40) of the earlier attempts to write Gupta history. Problems connected with the early history of the Guptas, their social status, and their emergence as an imperial power have been dealt with in Chapter II (pp. 41-114) which has three appendices—(i) Early Chronology of the Gupta Dynasty, (ii) Nālandā and Gayā Records of Samudragupta, and (iii) Candragupta-Kumāradevi Coin-type. This is followed by two chapters covering the history of Samudragupta (Ch. II<sup>1</sup>) and Candragupta II and Kumārāgupta I (Ch. IV), Chapter III also having six appendices entitled—(i) Place of Kāca in Gupta History, (ii) Relative Chronology of Samudragupta's Campaigns, (iii) King Candra of the Mehrauli Iron Pillar Inscription, (iv) Capital of the Gupta Empire, (v) Vasubandhu and the Guptas and (vi) The Date of Kālidāsa. The titles of the next two chapters are—V. Transformation and Decline of the Empire (pp. 262-334) and VI. Disintegration and Collapse of the Empire (pp. 335-86). Two appendices—(i) Problem of Succession after Kumārāgupta I and (ii) Immediate Successor of Skandagupta are added to Chapter V, while another entitled Order of Succession after Budhagupta to Chapter VI. The book which closes with the author's Conclusion (pp. 387-88) provides a classified Bibliography, a Genealogical Table, a Chronological Chart and an Index.

The history of the Guptas is full of problems and there is little doubt that Dr. Goyal has done a notable service by bringing together a wealth of material scattered in journals and books and by offering his own hypotheses on different issues. He has also succeeded in throwing valuable light on certain topics. For example, his arguments in favour of locating the original homeland of the Guptas in Eastern U.P. demand consideration. In a few places, however, he is not quite accurate and adequate. By way of illustration, reference may be made to the belief (pp. 10-11) that the conception of the king being the lover of the goddess of Royal Fortune (*rājya-lakṣmī*) 'was very popular in the Gupta and the post-Gupta periods', that it occurs in the *Raghuvamśa* and other later works and that 'the authors of the *prastāvis* were also influenced by it', is not accurate in view of the description of Rudradāman I as having won, secured or accepted *rāja-lakṣmī* in his Junagarh inscription of 150 A.D. If the above view of Dr. Goyal is accepted, then Kālidāsa, author of the *Raghuvamśa*, requires to be placed earlier than 150 A. D. and not in the latter half of the fourth century A.D. as has been done (pp. 217-19).

Vasubandhu, the disciple of Buddhāmītra and the author of the *Abhidharma-śāstra*, is assigned a date from c. 455 to 470 A.D. (pp. 214-16, 402). The ground on which the author seems to arrive at this date is that Vasubandhu's preceptor Buddhāmītra is the same as Buddhāmītra, a Buddhist monk men-

tioned in the Mankuwar image inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I. The identification of the two Buddhamitras is not an undisputed matter, and even if the identification is accepted, the date of the Mankuwar record has recently been read correctly as 108 (JAIF, Vol. III, pp. 133-37), so that Dr. Goyal's date for Vasubandhu appears to require a little modification.

While referring to the gradual absorption of the monarchical elements by the tribal republics, the author states (p. 61), 'even among the Mālavas, in whom the republic tradition was perhaps the strongest, the leadership had already begun to pass into the hands of persons like Śrī (?) Soma', and in footnote 4 he has noted that in the Nandsa Yūpa inscription 'Śrī (?) Soma describes himself, as well as his father Jayasoma and grandfather Prabhāgra (?) Vardhana as *rājariṣi*'. But it should have been noted that the names read previously as Śrī (?) Soma and Prabhāgra (?) Vardhana have been correctly read as Nandisoma and Bhṛguvardhana respectively (IHQ, Vol. XXIX, 1953, pp. 80-82).

The statement (p. 188) that the Allahabad pillar inscription was composed on the occasion of the performance of the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice by Samudragupta is not convincing as in that case Hariṣeṇa would have certainly mentioned this important achievement of his master.

Dr. Goyal refers to the Baḍgaṅgā inscription of Bhūti-varman as dated in the Gupta year 234. But it has now been shown that there is no date in the said inscription (Ep. Ind., Vol. XXX, 1953-1954, pp. 62-64).

Although the author utilises Vāmana's *Kāvya-lāṅkārasūtravṛtti* (p. 209 and n ; p. 255 and n), M. Winternitz's *A History of Indian Literature* (p. 217n), S. K. Chakraborty's *A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics* (not *Studies in Indian Numismatics*, p. 62 note 1), these works do not find mention in his Bibliography.

The most deplorable feature of the work is the large number of misprints sometimes three or more noticed at the same page (p. 106—'twentyt' for 'twenty' in line 2, 'campain' for 'campaign' in line 4 and 'are' for 'era' in line 10 ; p. 183—'inslands' for 'islands' in line 17, 'has Hariṣeṇa has given' in line 22, and 'Samudradgupta' in line 28; p. 265—'Skandaguptas' for 'Skandagupta's' in line 18, 'alter' for 'altar' in lines 19 and 20, 'his son his Cakrapālita' in line 24, 'Sanskritized' for 'Sanskritized' in line 25 and *abhya* for *abhaya* in line 38. The readers would have been benefited if at least some of the misprints were corrected in Errata.

The minor blemishes noted above do not minimise the importance of Dr. Goyal's work, the usefulness of which will be widely appreciated.

S. BANDYOPADHYAY

## LXVII

PRĀCIJYOTI, DIGEST OF INDOLOGICAL STUDIES, Vol. VII, edited by Gopikamohan Bhattacharya, published by the Kurukshetra University, 1971 ; pages 282.

The volume under review is a very important reference work. Already six such volumes have been published by the Kurukshetra University, all of which have been welcomed by scholars.

The present volume partly covers articles appearing in the major journals published between 1966 and 1970. A short abstract of each article has been given. It is expected to save much time and labour of interested scholars. The papers have been divided under the following sections : Section I—Archaeology ; Section II—Arts and Crafts ; Section III—Epics and Purāṇas ; Section IV—Epigraphy and Numismatics ; Section V—Geography ; Section VI—History ; Section VII—India and the World ; Section VIII—Polity and Administration ; Section IX—Linguistics and Grammar ; Section X—Literature and Rhetorics ; Section XI—Miscellaneous ; Section XII A—Philosophy and Religion (Buddhist) ; Section XII B—Philosophy and Religion (Non-Buddhist) ; Section XIII—Positive Sciences ; Section XIV—Social and Economic Institutions ; Section XV—Vedic Studies. Titles of Doctoral Theses (degree awarded or pending) of different universities with the names of authors have also been included under the sections mentioned above. There is also an author's index. Some idea has again been given regarding the academic activities of various Oriental Institutions of India and abroad. There are six reviews.

It is a matter of regret that a large number of articles published between 1966 and 1970 remain unnoticed. It is difficult to believe that prolific writers like D. C. Sircar and V. V. Mirashi contributed only two and four articles respectively in the said period of four years. Not a single paper of the present reviewer has been included, although between 1968 and 1970, he published at least six articles. Let us hope that in the next issue of the periodical such unnoticed papers will find a place.

Regarding the titles of Doctoral theses, we are sorry to observe that the list is not exhaustive. A good number of theses, especially of the University of Calcutta, have not been noticed. As for example, theses written by Dr. Sm. K. Saha, Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay (to mention only a few), and accepted by the University, have not been noticed. At page 241, the name of Sm. Bandana Chatterjee appears among those who were awarded Doctorate, under the heading 'Miscellaneous'. But we know that she is still working for her degree. Like most of the Indian journals, there are quite a good number of misprints ; as for example, Sirkar, D. C. (for

Sircar D. C., at p. xxxii), Singh, Sarag Prasad (for Singh, Sarjug Prasad, *loc. cit.*), Purugudta (for Pūrugupta at p. 66), etc.

Among the articles, whose summaries have been given, a few are highly interesting and thought-provoking.

The *Prācīyott* will be useful to every researcher in the vast realm of Indology.

A. K. Chatterjee

#### LXVIII

SUVARṆAVARṆĀVADĀNA edited by Sita Ram Ray, published by the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, pp. xvi + 356 with 5 plates; price Rs. 18.00.

The original manuscript of the present work is in the Sa-lu monastery in Tibet, its photostat copies being available in the Bihar Research Society and K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna. Enlarged photographs of the manuscript are preserved in two volumes of albums in the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute. While dealing with the problem of decipherment and reconstruction of the text in Chapter I, the editor has pointed out that the order of the leaves in these volumes is badly disturbed, and the numerical figures representing the number of leaves are not traceable. After going through the contents of the ms., he arranged the pages. He has given a chart indicating the revised pagination of the ms., preserved in the two volumes of albums at the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute. Another chart indicating the position of the photostat copy at the Bihar Research Society, as compared with the former, has also been given. The second Chapter is on palaeography of the ms. The editor regards the script as the derivative of the Kuṭṭa alphabet known as Vartula or Vaivarta. In his opinion, the ms. was written during the 11th century A. D. Chapter III deals with subjects like the nature, title, authorship, time and place of the ms. It has been shown that it belongs to the *avaśāna* class of Māhāyāna texts, its aim being propagation of Buddhism and its purport a description of the state of affairs after the death of the Buddha. The title of the book is not mentioned. Since Suvarṇavarṇā is the centre of the whole episode the editor proposes to call it *Suvarṇavarṇāvadāna*. Buddhakaragupta, whose religious gift this book is, may have been its author. The work deals with an episode of the time of Ajātaśatru. According to the editor, the social, political, economic and religious life of the people, depicted in the text, suggests that it was composed in the 4th or 5th century A. D. He further thinks that both the original and the present copy were written somewhere in the region between Kapilavāstu and Rājagṛha. Chapter IV gives the contents of the text.

It is a long narrative interspersed with some didactic speeches written in Sanskrit prose and poetry. The narrative may be divided into two parts, those of the present and the past. In Chapter V, the editor has tried to collect materials regarding political and administrative history from the text. Whatever historical material the text contains mainly refers to Ajāśatru and his officers. Chapter VI surveys the religious condition as reflected in the text. It has been shown that the text professes the Mahāyānist school of Buddhism in which the doctrine of Karman is given considerable importance. The necessity of taking refuge in the *Ratnatraya* for obtaining the desired object has been emphasised. The Buddha and some of his followers are considered supreme on the earth. It appears from the text that the head of the order was selected through nomination by the living head. Further, the *bhikṣus* were divided into different categories according to their religious achievements. Chapter VII is on social condition. It seems that caste system had become rigid at the time when the work was composed. *Samskāras* such as birth and naming were duly performed. Marriage relations were established among equals in caste and wealth. Women including prostitutes enjoyed high social status. Children of the rich received good education. Cremation was the accepted mode of disposal of the dead. In Chapter VIII dealing with economic condition, the picture displays extreme disparity between the poor and the rich. Agriculture, cattle-rearing and horticulture were probably the main sources of livelihood in the rural areas. The merchants of the cities were organised in guilds and corporations, and were engaged in trade, both by land and water. Different crafts were practised by the artisans. Kāśī and Apurāntaka were two flourishing centres of the cloth industry. In Chapter IX, an attempt has been made to identify and elucidate the proper names and technical terms that occur in the text. The last chapter gives the text as reconstructed by the editor. There is also a bibliography at the end.

The editor must be congratulated for making an unpublished ms. available to scholars and for reconstructing it with considerable labour. The introductory chapters are well written though the Chapter on Political Condition has no bearing on any period of Indian history. The editor's observations are not always quite satisfactory. It is fantastic to think that the rich in those days lived in eight-storeyed buildings even if it is so given in the text. Indian science of architecture did not develop to that extent. The editor includes among domestic and wild animals the Śarabha, an eight-legged animal (p. 161), but fails to mention that it is a mythical beast. It is wrong to say that epigraphic reference to *suvarṇa* as a coin occurs in the 10th century A.D. in the Cambay plates of Gavinda IV (p. 169). It is found in an inscription of Śaka Rṣabhādatta (2nd century A. D.) [and in the 5th century

record from Gadghwa.—Ed.]. The bibliography is not upto date. Reference is made to Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India* published in 1871 though an annotated version of the book was published later by S. N. Majumdar Sastri in 1924. Kane's *History of Dharmasāstra* consists not only of three volumes. H. C. Raychaudhuri's *Political History of Ancient India* has gone through another edition beyond the 5th. D. C. Sircar's *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, 2nd ed., appeared in 1965. *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* translated by Schoff should have been consulted besides the one that has been referred to in the bibliography. Finally, the list of journals and periodicals is useless.

D. R. Das

#### LXIX

THE GODDESS BARGABHIMĀ : A STUDY by P.K. Maity, published by Pradip Kumar Maity, Barhat, Midnapore, 1971; pp. 55 with 3 plates; price Rs. 7.50.

The University Grants Commission is generous in offering monetary help to those who apply in the name of a research project. Since the results of such projects are as yet little known, we are grateful to the author for this small monograph of 48 pages which is an interesting specimen of research work done with UGC help. Besides one page each for Title, Dedication and Acknowledgements, it has a Publisher's Note, Foreword and Preface as well as the appreciation of three other persons including the Director of Archaeology, Government of West Bengal, all three printed on the dust cover.

The monograph has eight sections with a title for each, an appendix on Tāmralipta and a bibliography (pp. 49–54). It starts with an introduction and goes to describe the legends and stories regarding the origin of the goddess Bargabhīmā and the construction of her temple. It has been asserted that the goddess had her origin in the early period of our history (p. 5). The reason for this surmise is a story, according to which Viśvakarman or king Tāmradhvaja or Garuḍadhvaja of the Peacock dynasty, 'which ruled in Tāmralipta in the time of the *Mahābhārata*', built the temple of Bargabhīmā. In another place (p. 6), we read that the legend of the introduction of the worship of Bargabhīmā by Kālu Bhuiṇā, whose date has been assigned to the 12th or 13th century A.D., suggests that the goddess had her origin about that time. One is at a loss to reconcile such conflicting statements. The contention that the inclusion of the goddess Bargabhīmā within the fold of the Śākta-pīṭhas is wrong. In no early or medieval text, Tamluk has been recognised as a Śākta holy place (see *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. XIV, 1948, pp. 8ff.). Even the 108 places, mentioned in the *Matsya Purāṇa* as associated



with the Mother Goddess, do not include Tāmralipta. It appears as a *pīṭha* in the very late *Bṛhaṇ-Ṇīlatantra* and in the *Prāṇatoṣaṇītantra* assignable to 1820 A.D. (*ibid.*, p. 31, note). Again no reason is given to clarify the statement that the present temple of Bargabhīmā was not originally constructed for the worship of her (p. 15). The author attempts to trace the origin of the name of the goddess, but in the end admits his failure. He gives a description of the periods and methods of worship, priestly functions and sacrificial offerings. Different purposes for which the deity is worshipped and the annual fair in her honour have also been touched. In conclusion, certain remarks have been made some of which have already been discussed. It is, however, not understood why the author considers the temple of Bargabhīmā as 'a rare specimen of Orissan *rekha* type in Bengal'. Indeed, these temples are very common in the Midnapore District and all of them including the one at Tamluk are very late in date.

On going through the text, one gets the impression that the author has taken little pains to consult the original texts. A book of this type written mainly on secondary materials is of little value particularly when secondary sources have not been properly tapped or critically examined.

[The *Nilatantra* and *Prāṇatoṣaṇītantra* mention the goddess of Tāmralipta as Tamoghñī. See Sircar, *Śākta Pīṭhas*, p. 97. In the seventh century, the place was famous for a temple of Varāha-Viṣṇu and not of the Mother Goddess. According to I-tsing, most foreign pilgrims stopped for sometime to study Sanskrit at the temple of the Varāha-avatāra at Tāmralipti. See Beal, *Life of Hiuen-Tsiang*, p. xxvi. *Vargabhīmā* means 'Bhīmā installed by Varga'. Cf. Supia inscription, line 12 (*Sel. Ins.*, p. 318), for one Varga.—Ed.]

D. R. Das

### LXX

POPULAR CULTS, LEGENDS AND STORIES IN ANCIENT BENGAL by Pradyot Kumar Maity, published by Pradip Kumar Maity, Barhat, Midnapore, 1971 ; pp. viii + 40 (including Bibliography, pp. 35-40) ; price Rs. 3.00:

This small booklet of 34 pages is another interesting specimen of research work done with UGC help. Originally, it was intended to be a chapter of *The Culture of Bengal* proposed to be edited by B. C. Sen and to be published by the Burdwan University or the Sanskrit College, Calcutta. The delay in bringing out the said volume urged the author to publish it as an independent booklet. Without questioning the wisdom of publishing a chapter in book form, we find the title of the brochure vague, if not inaccurate. To the author, popular cults mean only folk cults. As regards popular legends

and stories, we get only a few of them and then also the generally known ones. Finally, 'Ancient Bengal' seems to be a misnomer since the majority of source materials belong to the late medieval and modern periods. No comprehensive study of the literary works has been done and not a single inscription has been examined. Field work which is a must for such studies seems to have been conveniently avoided.

The book has eleven sections, viz., Introduction; Tree Cult; Human Fertility Cult; Agricultural Deities and Rituals; Rain-compelling Deities and Ceremonies; Disease-curing Deities; Child-protecting Deities; Miscellaneous Deities and Conclusion. Not a single of these sections does justice to which it is devoted and numerous omissions stand in the way of its becoming useful to the reader. At the end there is a Bibliography.

[As regards Dharma-śākur (pp. 21-25), see *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. XV, 1949, pp. 101ff., and Sircar, *Studies in the Religious Life of Ancient and Medieval Bengal*, pp. 189 ff., for his mention in an early medieval inscription.—Ed.]

D. R. Das

#### LXXI

INDIA IN THE VEDIC AGE by Purushottam Lal Bhargava, published by the Upper India Publishing House, Lucknow, 1971; pp. 396; price Rs. 50 00.

The present work is a comprehensive study of Indian civilization in the Vedic age. Different aspects of Vedic civilization have been dealt with by eminent scholars, and we have many valuable works on them. Still such a volume dealing with all the aspects of Vedic civilization was a desideratum. An informative work of this kind is bound to be popular, and this is proved by the fact that the first edition of the book was sold out within a few months of its publication. The second edition under review contains fifteen chapters. In the introductory portion the author states the purpose of his work pointing out the contradictory approach of Indologists to the Vedic problems. The second chapter is an examination of the sources as regards their contents, origin, development and relative importance. Apart from the Vedic texts, he takes into account the Purāṇas as a valuable source of history of the Vedic period. According to the learned author, although the priestly editors of the extant Purāṇas have added much to the matter of the original works, it is not difficult to extricate such matter from later additions. As regards the epics also, he holds the same opinion. The third chapter is devoted to a general survey of Aryan expansion, and the author has discussed the problem of the original home of the Āryas and their dispersal to the various regions outside and inside India. He suggests that the

Aryans originally lived in the valleys of the rivers Ghorband and Panjshir to the south of the Hindukush and, from this region, one branch went to the west and after wandering in many lands ultimately settled in various countries of Europe while another branch migrated to Sapta-sindhu, one group going to Iran and the other to India proper. The fourth chapter is devoted to the geography, flora and fauna of Vedic India. In the geographical portion, the author deals with the rivers, seas, mountains, forests, desert regions, cities and towns and in the section on fauna and flora, with the domesticated and wild animals, birds and reptiles, useful and wild plants, fruits and flowers. The fifth chapter is specially important, for it deals with the Purāṇic genealogies and their Vedic origins. Vedic scholars like Macdonell, Kerth, Winternitz and others regarded the Purāṇas as untrustworthy while scholars like Pargiter held an opposite view. The author of the work under review wants to bring the Purāṇic genealogies in a satisfactory relation with the Vedic literature. By a collated study of the literary evidence, he has tried to show in the sixth chapter that the Vedic and Purāṇic traditions are in agreement with each other. The author holds that the course of Aryan expansion in India is indicated by the Purāṇas in the location of various preceding and succeeding dynasties. The seventh chapter examines the Purāṇic genealogies in reference to the arrangement of the names of the kings in various dynastic lists and concludes that such an examination helps us in reconstructing the history of the Vedic age. The story of Aryan expansion in India falling in two periods is discussed in the eighth chapter. The period of the later Vedic works is also likewise divided. The ninth chapter deals with the families of the Vedic R̥ṣis with special emphasis on the Bhārgavas, Kāśyapas, Āgastyas and Kauśikas. The tenth chapter deals with the problem of Vedic chronology and the author's conclusion is that the age of the Vedic Saṃhitās lasted for about 2000 years, from 3000 to 1000 B.C. The eleventh chapter is an attempt to deal with the political history of the age of which inter-tribal warfare is a special feature. The twelfth chapter deals with the social and economic condition of the Vedic age with emphasis upon the caste system, family life, marriage and position of women, education, dress and decoration, food and drink, amusements and entertainments, occupations and industries, trade and means of transport and house-building. Political and legal institutions form the subject matter of the thirteenth chapter while the fourteenth deals with religion and philosophy. The last chapter is devoted to language and literature. We recommend the book to all students of Indology.

[The book exhibits the author's great erudition, though some of the topics are controversial and his conclusions may not satisfy all critics.—Ed.]

N. N. Bhattacharya

## LXXII

CUIT OF BRAHMĀ by Tarapada Bhattacharya, published by Chowkhamba, Varanasi, 1969, pp. 318 with 3 plates; price Rs. 25.00.

The second edition of Dr. T. P. Bhattacharya's *Cult of Brahmā* is evidently an improvement upon the first which was published in 1957. Further study has helped the author in collecting new data to substantiate his contentions, Bhattacharya believes that the Pañcarātra cult was originally the worship of five elements (*pañcamahābhūta*) and that in a later age, before it went under the influence of Vaiṣṇvism, the Pañcarātra was characterised as the five forms of Brahmā cult. The worship of five or seven or nine elements in the forms of divinity probably developed among the Iranian Aryans according to the learned author who also holds that a rudimentary form of Brahmā cult was in some way or other associated with the Iranian pattern of religion. The cult of Brahmā from very early times assimilated various other forms of worship and divinities. His worship was probably suppressed by some exponents of the Vedic religion; but it survived in various parts of India, especially in Eastern India, among the followers of the so-called Asura culture, and even in the historic period, among the low class people. This the author concludes from the facts that all religions and sects acknowledge their debts to and also the authority of Brahmā whose cult again had something to do with the growth of Buddhist and Jain ideas. The author has brought to light a forgotten *rātra* cult which was manifested in the conceptions of Dvādaśa-rātra, Ekādaśa-rātra, Daśa-rātra, Nava-rātra, Sapta-rātra, Pañca-rātra, etc. The word *rātra* originally indicated limbs or forms or elements and, as such, it became primarily a feature of the cult of Brahmā and was subsequently extended to other creeds. This *rātra* cult constitutes the first chapter of the work under review in which the author mentions the existence of several such cults in connexion with the worship of Brahmā. Of these, the Sapta-rātra, the origin of which may be traced to the Vedas, belonged especially to Brahmā. According to the author, the *Mahābhārata* was originally a treatise on Brahmā. Sapta-rātra is clearly understood from the Śānti-parvan references to the incarnations of Brahmā and this is substantiated by the evidence furnished by the *Bhagavadgītā*. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* and the *Manusmṛiti* also refer to the Sapta-rātra cult of Brahmā, which was responsible for the development of the Pañca-rātra that was also originally a cult of Brahmā, though it later came into the Vaiṣṇava fold. In the second chapter, the author deals with the antiquity and method of the worship of Brahmā with special reference to the other gods related to the Brahmā sect and the influence of Brahmā worship on other cults. This portion is significant and valuable from the viewpoint of textual documentation. In the third and fourth chapters, the

cult of Brahmā is brought in relation to Jainism and Buddhism respectively, and many side issues are also raised, while in the last chapter the origin of Buddhist art is traced to Brahmā's symbols.

The book under review attempts to throw new light on various problems of Indian religions, traditions and art. Any such attempt to discover 'origins' must be speculative in nature.

N. N. Bhattacharya

#### LXXIII-LXXIV

(1) *ETHNOLOGY OF ANCIENT BHĀRATA* by Ram Chandra Jain, published by Chowkhamba, Varanasi, 1970; pp. xxxii+320; price Rs. 33.00.

(2) *STUDIES IN THE PROTO-HISTORY OF INDIA* by D. P. Mishra, published by Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1971; pp. xiii+200; price Rs. 20.00.

The purpose of R. C. Jain's work is to 'wage an incessant war against what is traditional, obscurantist, ritualist and parochial, other names of "materialism", in our culture, and reinstate what is permanent, enduring freedom and equality, other names of "spiritualism", in our culture'. We may not deal with the author's understanding of materialism and spiritualism which are philosophical terms with definite implications; but we may suggest humbly that one should not go outside one's own discipline. However, in establishing his absolutes, the author has resorted to the study of the ethnic migration and settlements of ancient India, and for this purpose has attempted to collate written records with archaeology and anthropology in order to rationalise his novel theory that the Aryans who occupied India about 1000 B.C. were the materialistic Brahmaryans while the vanquished Nonaryans were the spiritualistic Bharatiyans and that the 'Brāhmaṇa' ethnic group came out subsequently as a synthesis of the two. Unfortunately, the flaw of his hypothesis lies not in his conclusions, but in the premise itself. Modern anthropology does not speak in terms of anything 'Aryan', the Aryan concept having contributed nothing to a better understanding of the relevant Indian archaeological data. Any attempt to explain an archaeological culture in terms of the philological concept of the Aryan immigration in India may also lead to inconsistencies. The author, however, has collected data from the Vedic texts which could have been utilised in a more objective way. Subjective interpretations of ancient conditions are necessary; but their scope is limited owing to the nature of the evidences.

The same holds good in the case of D. P. Mishra's work which aims at a critical study of the origin and earlier phases of culture of the so-called

Indo-Aryans. The author wanted to base his study upon an examination of Vedic and Purāṇic literature and the findings of the archaeological excavations in West Asia and the Indus Valley. On the basis of the evidence of Purāṇic geography, he supports the Central Asian homeland theory of the Indo-Europeans, which was *Devaloka* (region of the gods) according to his own terminology. Following the same method, he locates the *Pitṛloka* (region of the fathers) or the common home of the undivided Indo-Iranians to the Khwarizm region of Soviet Uzbekistan. The Asuras, according to Mishra, were a branch of the Indo-Europeans like the Devas. They were defeated in the fratricidal wars and were forced to yield eastern Iran and Afghanistan to their rivals, the Devas. They finally came to the valley of the Indus and laid the foundation of the Harappan civilization. In support of this hypothesis, he has pointed out the close affinity between the civilization of Central Asia and that of the Indus Valley. While R. C. Jain, the author of the other work under review, has referred to the Aryan invasions in two waves, which reminds us of the theory of Hoernle and Grierson amended by R. P. Chanda (whose *Indo-Aryan Races* has not been cited by Jain and Mishra), D. P. Mishra thinks that there were at least three major Aryan invasions. After the settlement of the Asuras in the Indus Valley, the descendants of Manu occupied the Himalayan foothills upto Mithilā and Vaiśālī and those of Purūravas occupied the Indus plain and got themselves mixed up with the existing Asuras. Both these branches, known as Solar and Lunar respectively, have jointly been designated as the Early Aryans. The Bharatas likewise were a fresh wave of Aryan entrants who occupied parts of Northern India. The Kurus, according to the author, had no organic connexion with the Bharatas. The book is written in a nice way for which the author must deserve our praise, although all his views are speculative owing to the reasons mentioned above.

N. N. Bhattacharya

#### LXXV

HISTORY OF ANCIENT BENGAL by R. C. Majumdar, published by G. Bharadwaj & Co., Calcutta, 1971; pages 699 (including Bibliography and Index, pp. 661-99) with 36 Plates and a few maps; price Rs. 45.00.

The volume under review may be regarded as a revised edition of the *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, edited by Dr. Majumdar and published by the University of Dacca in 1943, which was so long the standard work on the subject and of which about one-third (including all the chapters on political history) had been written by the editor himself. The said sections have been incorporated in the present work in a revised form while the chapters written

by the editor jointly with other scholars and those written completely by others have been treated practically in the same way in some cases and more or less similarly in others. The course adopted in such cases may not convince all critics that proper justice has been done to the other contributors of the *History of Bengal*, Vol. I (some of whom are no longer in the land of the living) as well as to the University of Dacca which originally published the work. Still, however, we must express our gratefulness to the author for the volume since he is undoubtedly the most competent person to present a work like this to the students of history.

Comparing the present volume with the old one, the author claims (pp. ix-x) as follows : "The account of the prehistoric period has been changed almost beyond recognition by utilising the results of the excavations at the prehistoric sites on the Ajay river, such as Pandu Rajar Dhibi and the neighbouring sites. The knowledge of political history as well as of art and geography of ancient Bengal has been enlarged and enriched by excavations at many sites during the last thirty years such as Berachampa and Rajbaridanga, and the new data have been fully utilised, probably for the first times in any historical text on ancient Bengal. As a result many views propounded in the *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, published by the Dacca University, including those held by me, had to be considerably modified and the history of many new kings and the true chronology and genealogy of some kings and royal dynasties have been furnished for the first time. To cite only a few examples, the history of the kings of the Candra dynasty (pp. 199-206) and the Deva dynasty (pp. 275-78) may be said to have been practically re-written, and many new kings and old dynasties have come into prominence. Thus it has been shown that the first imperial expansion of the kingdom of Bengal did not begin in Śaśāṅka's time as has been supposed so long ; but its foundations were laid by Gopacandra..."

This is certainly a great and remarkable achievement on the part of the author who has written the book 'unaided at the age of eighty-three' (p.x). At the same time, it has to be admitted that, apparently due to old age, the author has lost part of his old and well-known capacity of collecting data, so that it was not possible for him to trace all the writings that have recently appeared on the various topics concerned. As regards the responsibility of Śaśāṅka's predecessors including Gopacandra for 'the expansion of Gauḍa power towards Orissa', Dr. Majumdar's attention should have been drawn to the reviewer's 'Vijayavarman, the Viceroy of Gopacandra' in *Indian Studies Past and Present*, Vol. VII, No. 2, January-March, 1966, pp. 123-26. Sometimes the revision of the text of the old edition is not as satisfactory as it should have been. Thus Dr. Majumdar fails to correct the statement in the book (p. 141) about a Somavaṁśi king's description as 'the full moon in the

clear sky of Vaṅga' even though he knows that it is based on the wrong reading of *śiṭāṁśu-vaṁśa* as *śiṭāṅga-vaṅga* (p. 186, note 182).

There are many views occurring both in the old edition as well as in the present volume, which we do not consider acceptable. Thus we are inclined to believe that Śaśāṅka was responsible for the murder of Rājyavardhana (cf. p. 52) and that, during Devapāla's weak reign, the power of the Pālas was more or less confined to parts of Bengal and Bihar (cf. pp. 111ff). There are cases in which we are quite convinced about the error. Thus Ballāla-sena's description in the *Adbhūtasāgara* clearly shows that the Sena king committed religious suicide in the waters of the Gaṅgā and, as a result, went to the *nirjara-pura* (literally, 'gods' city') or heaven, and we consider it absurd to think that he settled at a locality called Nirjarapura on the Ganges near Tribeni (cf. p. 230). Besides such things, the present volume is not as free from misprints as its predecessor. Thus Dommanapāla's copper-plate grant of Śaka 1118 is stated (p. xxxvi) to have been found at the locality called 'Rakṣā-kālī' and to have been published in '*Journal of Assam Society*', Vol. VI, No. 1; *JASBL*, VI. 73' in which 'Rakṣā-kālī' is a mistake for 'Rākṣas-khālī' while the references should correctly have been to *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. X, pp. 321ff., and to *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, pp. 679ff.

What is, however, more serious than the said blemishes is that, in some cases, the author entered into controversies on certain points with other scholars and such matters have been inadequately or inefficiently represented or have been altogether overlooked or suppressed. The first of these two classes of defects would suggest that the revision was done in a hurry and sufficient thought and carefulness were not bestowed on the work while the latter category seems to point to an old man's forgetfulness or to, we are very sorry to say, the unwelcome suppression of unpalatable comments for which no satisfactory answer was available. In this connection, reference may be made to the following two cases. In the course of a controversy of the author with the writer of these lines, it was pointed out by the latter that the epithet *Gauḍadhvaḥa*, applied to king Gāṅgeyadeva in a manuscript of the *Rāmāyaṇa* copied in 1019 A.D., is now definitely known to be a mistake for *Garuḍadhvaḥa* due to the careless omission of the letter *r* in Bendall's Catalogue. In the present work, Dr. Majumdar first refers to '*Gauḍadhvaḥa* Gāṅgeyadeva' (p. 158) with a footnote (p. 194, note 261) saying that "D. C. Sircar thinks it is a mistake for *Garuḍadhvaḥa* (*JASBL* (sic). 1951, p. 27)," while at p. 184, he mentions '*Gauḍadhvaḥa* (probably an error for *Garuḍadhvaḥa*)'. Unfortunately, this is obviously an erroneous representation of the case because *Gauḍadhvaḥa* is certainly and undoubtedly (not, 'probably') a mistake for *Garuḍadhvaḥa*.

In another case, the present reviewer tried to show that the Ambaṣṭhas



lived in the north-western part of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent in ancient times, but that, in later times, they settled in various parts of the country, their modern representatives being not only the Ambaṣṭha-Kāyasthas (scribe community) of Bihar and the Ambaṣṭha-Vaidyas (physician community) of Bengal, but also the Ambaṣṭha-Vaidyas (barber-physician community) of Tamilnad and Malabar who are mentioned as Ambastai (located in the Malabar region) in Ptolemy's *Geography* (VII. 1.67) and as Vaidya in the early inscriptions of the Cālukyas and the Pāṇḍyas. The Vaidyas of Bengal who disliked to be so associated with the barbers of the South, prevailed upon Dr. Majumdar to comment on the above views in the *Viśva-Bhāratī Patrikā*, our reply to his note later appearing in the *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*. Unfortunately, no reference to these discussions in the course of the said controversy can be traced in the present volume in the section entitled 'Vaidya-Ambaṣṭhas' at pp. 435 ff. We are extremely sorry for this because, if it is not an old man's forgetfulness, this is quite unlike the great Dr. Majumdar, for whom we have the highest regard as a true historian.

There is no doubt that the book, coming from the pen of the greatest living authority on the subject, will be read by all students of early Indian history, especially by those interested in the ancient history of Bengal.

D. C. SIRCAR

#### LXXVI

POLITICAL CENTRES AND CULTURE REGIONS IN EARLY BENGAL by Barrie M. Morrison, published, for the Association for Asian Studies, by the University of Arizona Press, Tucson, Arizona, 1970; pp. 189 (including Catalogue of Inscriptions, Bibliography and Index); price \$ 7.50.

It was the Western scholars who initiated the study of Indian epigraphy, and their contributions are the largest and the most significant in the said field. Of late, however, there is little evidence of Western interest in Indian inscriptions. The book under review, based as it is on the epigraphic records of Bengal belonging to the period between the fifth and thirteenth centuries, is therefore welcome, and we congratulate its author and publishers. We are grateful to the author for information on the epigraphic discoveries in East Pakistan, about which our knowledge was inadequate because of the absence of easy communication between India and Pakistan before the creation of Bangladesh. His mention of the Salban Vihar plate of Balabhaṭa (p. 61) and the Nasirabad plate of Dāmodaradeva (p. 65) interests us considerably, though it is strange that he is silent about the Jagadishpur plate of the Gupta year 128 (447 A. D.) which was published in the *Bāṅgālā Academy Patrikā* (Dacca), B.S. 1370 (1963 A.D.), and the Kurpala plate of Samācāradeva,

which was noticed in *Hist. Beng.*, Vol. I, ed. Majumdar, 1943. Balabhaṭa is regarded as a successor of Rājabhaṭa of the Khaḍga dynasty and is assigned to the close of the seventh century A. D.

Besides the Introduction (pp. 1-18), Concluding Observations (pp. 148-55) and Appendix (Catalogue of Inscriptions, pp. 157-70), the subject has been discussed under the following four heads : Dates and Locations of the Inscriptions (pp. 18-57), Appearance and Organisation of the Inscriptions (pp. 58-83), Transfer of Property (pp. 84-125) and The Function and Structure of Government (pp. 126-47). The book exhibits a laborious collection of data and an intelligent presentation of facts. The author has made a sincere attempt to present the epigraphical evidence in a thorough manner. There are, however, some drawbacks in his treatment of the subject.

Apart from the author's generalised statements with some of which we may not agree, a perusal of the book makes it clear that mastery over the entire evidence at our disposal is difficult to achieve, in the present state, in a short period of time, for one, especially a foreigner, because the number of inscriptions including the allied records belonging to a wider area and age is not small while writings on them (including those in Bengali) are innumerable. Again, the selection of reliable evidence out of the writings on interpretation of epigraphic data is a very difficult job. The time devoted by the author for writing out the work seems to be rather short and that is why he has sometimes failed to take notice of the complete evidence including that of allied records. Sometimes he has ignored writings in Bengali. As a result, the book exhibits numerous small errors and also many cases of misunderstanding and confusion.

The nature of the minor errors (many of which are typographical) may be illustrated by the following few cases : *S'riṅgavera* for *S'ṛiṅgavara* (p. 30, lines 24, 30) ; *Dhanaldha* for *Dhanaldaha* (pp. 30, 60, 157). *Khāi* (p. 42, 1.33) and *Khaḍi* (p. 46, 1.18) for *Khāḍi* ; *Carbeta* for *Garbeta* (p. 45, 1.20) ; *Dhakkari* for *Dhekkari* (p. 45, 11.31 and 32) ; *Adābādi* for *Ādābāḍi* (p. 51) ; *Śrīdhāraṇa* for *S'ṛīdhāraṇa* (p. 61) ; *Kalimpur* for *Khalimpur* (p. 62) ; *ṣaṭka* understood to mean 'sevenfold' (p. 87), though *ṣaṭ* means 'six' ; omission of 'H. N. Randle, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 1-13' in connection with Lakṣmaṇasena's plates at p. 159 ; omission of 'Śaka 1141' in connection with Harikāladeva's plate (p. 168) ; etc., etc.

Among serious errors, we may mention a few like the following. "During the ninth century, the Pāla and Candra dynasties were founded" (p. 15, line 26) ; cf. also "time of the Pālas (from the ninth to the eleventh century)" (p. 16, ll. 10-11). It is, however, well known that the Pāla dynasty was

founded in the middle of the eighth century and that its latest rulers flourished in the latter half of the twelfth.

"Two eleventh and twelfth century Pāla inscriptions, which were found in Bihar, bear dates in the Vikrama era that began in 57 B. C." (*JAS*, Letters, Vol. XVII, 1951, p. 27). See p. 20. Of course there are two Pāla inscriptions bearing dates in the Vikrama era of 58 B.C.; they were, however, not both found in Bihar, one of them being discovered in Bihar (Gaya inscription of 'the past sovereignty' of Govindapāla) and the other in U. P. (Sarnath inscription of Mahī-āla I, 1026 A. D.). Owing to confusion, the author has forgotten the very valuable Valgudar (Bihar) inscription of Madanapāla dated in his 18th regnal year as well as in year 1083 of the Śaka (not Vikrama) era.

It is not correct to say that the Bengal San started in 593-94 A. D. (p. 3, note) and that Harikela is the Chittagong Division of East Pakistan (p. 39, ll. 34ff.). The Bengal era is a variation of the Fasli (solarised Hijri) introduced in Akbar's reign while Harikela or Harikeli is regarded as another name of Vaṅga or the Dacca region (Hemacandra) or of Śrihaṭṭa or Sylhet (Keśava).

It is again wrong to assign the fifth Damodarpur plate to 'Dāmodara-gupta' (p. 159 and elsewhere). A place has been located in the Dinajpur District of West Bengal and on the northern bank of the Ganges where it joins the Mahananda (p. 49, ll. 15ff.); but the Mahananda joins the Padma in the Malda District far to the south of Dinajpur. Rānapāla's reign period quoted as c. 1077-1119 A. D. is wrong in view of a manuscript copied in his 53rd regnal year, now preserved in the National Museum, New Delhi. The Manahali plate of Madanapāla (1143-61 A. D.) and the Tarpandighi plate of Lakṣṇasena (1179-1206 A. D.) are believed to suggest Pāla-Sena rivalry in Varendra (p. 50, ll. 5ff.); but the author ignores the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena (c. 1090-1159 A. D.) suggesting Sena occupation of a large area of North Bengal from Madanapāla himself. The Sanokhar inscription of Ballāṣena (1159-79 A. D.) points to Sena conquest even of East Bihar before the days of Lakṣṇasena. The author's belief that the lands purchased by means of the Damodarpur plates were small plots held communally (p. 148) is quite wrong in our opinion. It seems that he has little idea about the cheapness of land and its produces even as late as the early years of the present century and the exceptionally high purchasing power of the Gupta gold coin.

In spite of the blemishes, the book under review is a very interesting publication and we recommend it to all students of the early history of Bengal.

D. C. Sircar

## LXXVII

PĀTALIPUTRA EXCAVATION 1955-56 by B. P. Sinha and Lala Aditya Narain, published by the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Bihar, Patna, 1970; 56 pages with 27 plates and 20 line drawings; price Rs. 33.00.

The present report deals with the results of excavation conducted by Sri V. K. Mishra of the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, under the supervision of Dr. A. S. Altekar, at such sites as Mahabirghat, Sadargaly, Begum-ki-Haveli, Government Press Play Ground and Shah-Kamal Road in the densely populated areas of Patna city, revealing three cultural periods — I. c. 600 B.C. to c. 150 B.C.; II. c. 150 B.C. to c. 500 A.D. and III. c. 1700 A.D. and later, having continuous occupation during the first two periods and the last coming into existence after a break of about twelve hundred years. We are glad that within a short compass, the authors have succeeded in presenting a learned discourse on the history of Pāṭaliputra and a brief survey of the previous explorations and excavations conducted in the area by European and Indian Archaeologists.

The authors think that 'the Kuṣāṇas held their sway over Pāṭaliputra upto *circa* 3rd century A.D.' (p. 14) and 'after the Kuṣāṇas probably the Licchavis reappeared on the political scene' of the city; but they find no evidence to prove Licchavi rule at Pāṭaliputra (p. 4). The absence of any reference to the Muruṇḍas of Pāṭaliputra seems to be an omission. Indian literary tradition speaks of Muruṇḍa rule at Pāṭaliputra about the 2nd century A. D. sometime before the rise of the Guptas. Ptolemy (c. 145 A.D.) refers to the Maroundai (Muruṇḍa) in the same region. The Muruṇḍas are regarded by some scholars to have been viceroys of the Kuṣāṇas in Bihar or Eastern India. It is well known that Chinese annals speak of an ambassador to India from king Fan-chen of Fu-nan during the reign of the Wu dynasty (220-227 A.D.), who, after a long journey from T'eu-kia-li (probably Takkola), went up through a large river (probably the Ganges) to the capital of the king of Meu-luen regarded by scholars to be *Muruṇḍa*, whose capital was probably at Pāṭaliputra. Sircar thinks that the Purāṇic Viśvasphāṇi (also called Viśvasphāṭika, Viśvasphāci, Viśvasphāṭi and so on), the ruler of Magadha before the Guptas, may have been a Muruṇḍa king.

Although the excavation was carried out in a limited scale confined to small trenches, it gives a clear idea of the early settlements at Pāṭaliputra commencing from c. 600 B.C. The antiquities discovered from the Mauryan level suggest that the region in question formed a part of the city of Pāṭaliputra during the said age; but no structural remains of the royal palace were found in the excavation except a fragmentary couchant bull and pieces of stone with Mauryan polish.

"Metal—Gold ; Size—8'' ; Weight—about 20 grains. Obv.—aureate bust of middle-aged king to right, wearing a graceful crown. The king bears a long-sleeved coat and holds a corn-sheaf (?) in the left hand and a banner (?) across shoulder in the right. Circular Greek legend, beginning at VIII ('VII' in the *JNSI*) SHAONANO SHAO; from I—OOESHKI...Rev.—within dotted border, goddess Ardokhsho standing to left, wearing a head-dress ; her left hand is on the waist and she is holding a cornucopia in the right hand. Symbol in her front and the legend ARDOKHSHO behind her (Pl. XXIV. 23).

It may be noticed that on the obverse, the king holds a 'banner' which looks like a *trifida* in his left hand, not in the right, and the 'corn-sheaf' appears to be a flower-bud in the right hand, not in the left. On the reverse, the goddess holds a cornucopia (?) in her left hand, not in the right. Her right hand (not the left) rests on the waist. [All the details are not quite clear in the illustration.—Ed.].

The terracotta figurines discovered in the excavation are important for the study of the stylistic development of the terracotta art. The discovery of Naigameṣa figurines in the present excavation and also at Kumrahar (Altekar and Mishra, *Rep. Kum. Excav.*, 1951-55, p. 98) suggests the prevalence of the cult of Naigameṣa at Pāṭaliputra from c. 100 down to c. 500 A.D. [They are female figures, and the identification is doubtful.—Ed.].

The report deserves the attention of students of archaeology. We congratulate the writers for publishing this long awaited report after a great deal of patient labour.

S. P. SINGH

#### LXXVIII

HARSA AND HIS TIMES by Dr. Baijnath Sharma, published by Sushma Prakashan, Varanasi, 1970 ; pages 527 (including Index and Bibliography, pp. 493ff.) ; price Rs. 75.00.

The work under review offers an elaborate account of the political history of Northern India for about two centuries from the middle of the fifth to that of the seventh century A.D. and also of the cultural history of the region for the first half of the seventh century. Chapter I entitled 'Political Background' deals with the history of the successors of the Imperial Gupta monarch Kumāragupta I as well as of the 'Later Guptas', Maukharis, Puṣya-bhūti, Maitrakas and Gurjaras and of Vaṅga, Gauḍa, Kāliṅga and Kāmarūpa. Chapters II-VIII deal respectively with Harṣa's family and heritage, his birth and early life, his accession to power, his wars and conquests, the extent of his empire, his administration and his literary productions and

patronage to authors. The social life in Harṣa's age is discussed in Chapters IX-X while the remaining chapters of the book (Chapters XI-XV) deal respectively with religion and philosophy, language and literature, education and learning, art and economic life. It is an exhaustive treatment of the subject.

There is no doubt that the author tried his best to collect the data. The work, however, exhibits certain defects but for which it would have been more useful to the general students of early Indian history. In the first place, it has a large number of typographical errors. Of course we have to admit that it is not easy to print anything in India without misprints; but the author should not have increased the trouble of the press by putting the enormous footnote material entirely in italics. Secondly, the author's collection of data seems to have been rather hurried and his discussions are in some cases not as up-to-date and careful as were expected of him. A few such cases are pointed out here in the hope that the learned and energetic author may utilise them in revising the work for a second edition.

Pages 65-66 of the work speak of the Patnakella plate of the Gupta year 283 and of king 'Śagguyayana' mentioned in it. It is well known that an improvement in this absurd reading of the king's name offered by R. D. Banerji was attempted by Sten Konow who suggested the name to be 'Śambhuyayya' and the same king's name occurs clearly in the Soro plate of Gupta 260 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 197ff.). These facts are known to Dr. Sharma; but it is strange that he does not notice the correct form of the name found in the Soro plate (*ibid.*, p. 200)—'Śambhuyāśas'. It is wrong to say that the *Classical Age*, ed. Majumdar, p. 93, adopts Sten Konow's reading, since the said work correctly speaks of 'Śambhuyāśas'.

At p. 65, Dr. Sharma refers to the Sumandala plate (Gupta year 250, wrongly quoted as '205') of Pṛthivīgraha whom he regards as the only important member of his family. It is unfortunate that the Kanas plate (Gupta year 280) of Lokavīgraha (*ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 329ff.) has escaped his notice.

At p. 74, note 26, the learned author has quoted the beginning of a verse of the Mandasor inscription as *Sthāṇor=anyatra yeta praṇāti* in support of the statement that king Yaśodharman never bent his head before anyone excepting Sthānu (Śīva). The correct reading of the first foot of the stanza is of course *Sthāṇor=anyatra yena praṇāti-kṣipatām prāpitām n=ottam-āṅgam*; but what is more serious is that Dr. Sharma has followed Fleet's wrong translation of the verse in *CII*, Vol. III, p. 143, and failed to note Kielhorn's corrections in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 219f. In reality, the king who is stated to have bowed down only to Sthānu was Mihirakula and not Yaśodharman (cf. also Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, 1965, p. 419 and note 4).

On the basis of the *Classical Age*, p. 92, which relies on *Journ. Assam*

*Res. Soc.* (not *JRAS* as printed in the book under review), Vol. XII, Nos. 1-2, Dr. Sharma speaks of the Doobi copper plate (correctly 'copper plates') of Bhāskaravarman referring to the defeat of the Gauḍa forces at the hands of the Kāmarūpa princes Supraṭiṣṭhitavarman and Bhāskaravarman. If the learned author would have consulted *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 287ff. where the inscription has been re-edited, it would have been clear to him that the said statement is wrong and that Supraṭiṣṭhitavarman and Bhāskaravarman were defeated and carried away captive by the Gauḍa forces, although afterwards the Gauḍa king was good enough to allow them to return to Kāmarūpa.

We request the learned author to revise the book very thoroughly for the future edition for the benefit of our students.

D. C. SIRCAR

## OUR DEPARTMENT

SESSION 1971-72

See *Bulletin No. 4* of the Centre of Advanced Study, Department of AIHC, Calcutta University, 1972.\*

\* 210 candidates registered for the M. A. Examination in AIHC in 1970, 114 actually appeared at the examination and 74 passed (5 in Class I), the percentage of passes being 64.2. The Carmichael Professor's prize for regular attendance was awarded to Sri Subid Chattopadhyay (1968-70)—*Indian Numerals* by Dr. Sm. S. L. Gokhale.

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## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

- Page 29, note last line. —Read—legend  
„ 30, note line 6. —Read—tradition  
„ 78, note 3. —Read—Ahaṇṇūṇu  
„ 110, note line 5. —Read—Rājendra  
„ 160, top. —Read—L. K. Tripathi  
„ 165, note 3 line 2. —Add—Pl. XXX, Mehi III. 2. a and I.  
6. 3, Kulli (cf. *Mem. ASI*, 43  
„ „ 6. —Read—*Kunst Europa*  
„ „ 7 line 2. —Read—*Fouilles*  
„ 168, note 17 line 2. —Read—India  
„ 194, note 15. —Read—is not  
„ 205, note line 1. —Read—Kachāri  
„ 207, note 9 line 2. —Read—Danujamardana  
„ 265, line 5. —Add—Out of the many names in the  
*Mahāmāyuri*, only a few are found also  
in the Brāhmaṇical and Jain lists of

Yakṣas. Cf. Sircar, *Stud. Rel. Life*, pp. 144ff.; Bhattacharya, *The Jaina Iconography*, pp. 91ff.

- „ 266, line 24. —Read—179 for—182  
 „ 267, lines 13 and 29. —Do.  
 „ 270, line 25. —Read—133 for—136  
 „ 272, line 11. —Add—See Section 157.  
 „ 276, line 19. —Read—Sections 80 and 137 ; cf. Sections 142-43.  
 „ 282, line 10. —Read—161  
 „ 285, line 6. —Read—156  
 „ 289, line 9. —Read—Section 154 ; cf. also Sections 142-43.  
 „ 295, line 19. —Read—Yodha  
 „ 298, line 7. —Read—179 for—182  
 „ 300, line 14. —Read—(124)  
 „ 303, line 28. —Read—136-38  
 „ 307, line 14. —Read—XLII  
 „ 311, line 16. —Read—*Nalakū-*  
 „ „ line 19. —Read—*Nalakūvara*  
 „ „ line 20. —Read—*Babbaḍādhāna*  
 „ 312, line 10. —Read—*kūvara*  
 „ 320, line 8. —Read—y. 148  
 „ „ line 15. —Read—*Dīḍhadhanus*  
 „ 366, line 25. —Read—*Sahasracitya*  
 „ 396, line 38. —Read—representation  
 „ 397, line 12. —Read—reference  
 „ 401, line 1.—Add at the beginning—An interesting amulet is described as follows :  
 „ 424—Transfer *Kapiṣā*, etc., to p. 425, after *Kapilavāstu*.

REPRINT  
ANCIENT INDIAN NUMISMATICS\*

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D. R. BHANDARKAR

LECTURE IV

SCIENCE OF COINAGE IN ANCIENT INDIA

Numismatics, as you are all aware, is a science which treats of coins. The study of coinage is supposed to be of comparatively recent origin; but in ancient India, it seems to have been cultivated by different classes of people with different objects in view. Thus in the *Mahāvagga* of the Southern Buddhist Canon, we are told a story about a boy named Upāli.<sup>1</sup> There was at Rājagṛha a group of seventeen boys, friends of one-another and all under twenty years of age. The most pre-eminent of them was Upāli. Now, Upāli's father and mother thought: "How will Upāli, after our death, live a life of ease and without pain? If he learns *Lekha*, his fingers will become sore. If he learns *Gaṇanā*, his chest will become diseased. If, again, he learns *Rūpa*, his eyes will suffer. Now here are the Śākyaputra Śramanas who live a commodious life; they have good meals and lie down on beds protected from the wind." "If Upāli," thought his father and mother, "could be ordained with the Śākyaputra Śramanas, he would, after our death, live a life of ease and without pain." It is not necessary to tell you the whole story. Suffice it to say that Upāli and his companions got themselves ordained one day, and in the night at dawn set up such a fearful howl for rice-milk and hard and soft food that Buddha was aroused from his sleep and promptly ascertained

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\* [ Continued from Vol. IV, p. 494.—Ed. ]

1 *SBE*, Vol. XIII, pp. 201ff.

the cause of that noise and forbid in future to confer ordination on any person under twenty years of age. But what do we learn from the story ? We have here seventeen boys on this side of twenty and not far removed from it, and the parents of one of them, viz. Upāli, seriously thinking of introducing him to an avocation which will enable him to live a life of ease and comfort. Evidently, therefore, *Lekha*, *Gaṇanā* and *Rūpa* must be so interpreted as to denote each a profession. It is no use, therefore, taking them to be merely the 'three R's' as Bühler and Rhys Davids have done.<sup>2</sup> *Lekha* thus cannot here signify learning to write A, B, C, but rather 'the art of writing', which constitutes the profession of a *Lekhaka*. This 'art of writing' included not only the niceties of diction and style, but also the different forms of correspondence, as will be seen from Chapter X of the *Adhyakṣa-pracāra* of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, which in its concluding verse tells us that there were not one, but many treatises on the subject. The word *gaṇanā*, for similar reasons, cannot mean 'arithmetic', but rather 'accounts' corresponding to *gāṇanikya* of Kauṭilya. Even in later times this word had this meaning, and we thus find the term *Gaṇanāpati* used by Kalhaṇa in his *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*<sup>3</sup> and understood correctly by Aurel Stein to denote 'Head of the Accounts Office'. Study of *Gaṇanā* would thus make a candidate qualified to hold a post in the *Akṣapaṭāla* Department. The third word *Rūpa* is taken by Rhys Davids to mean 'money-changing' and by Bühler 'commercial and agricultural arithmetic'. Such meanings not quite correct, though these scholars are here not far wide of the mark, because they were careful enough to avail themselves of Buddhaghosa's commentary which says that he who learns the *Rūpasutta* must 'turn over and over many Kārṣāpanas and look at them'. But any-

2 See Bühler, *IS*, Vol. III, p. 13.

3 V. 26.

body who has read Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* knows that the word *rūpa* has been employed in this work to denote 'coins'. Thus in Chapter XII of the *Adhyakṣapracāra*, Kauṭilya speaks of *rūpya-rūpa* and *tāmra rūpa* which cannot but signify 'silver and copper coins' respectively. He also specifies an officer called *Rūpadarśaka*, whose duty was to examine the coins in actual circulation or received as revenue into the royal treasury. No doubt can, therefore, be entertained as to the term *rūpa* meaning 'a coin', so that when the parents of Upāli once thought of training him in *Rūpa* for his profession, especially as he was not far removed from twenty, we can only understand that the boy was intended to study the science of coinage only, to fit him to be either a *Rūpadarśaka* or a *Sauvarṇika*.

To what class Upāli belonged is not clear. But certain it is that he was neither a Brāhmaṇa nor a Kṣatriya. We shall, therefore, now take an instance in which a Kṣatriya is said to have studied *Rūpa*. Some of you will perhaps have guessed that I intend here referring to Khāravela, the ruler of Kalinga. In a cave called Hāthigumphā in the Udayagiri hill, three miles from Bhubaneswar in the Puri District of Orissa, we have got a long inscription of this king, describing the different events of the different years of his reign. In line 2 of this epigraph, we are told that for the first fifteen years of his age he was a *Kumāra* and played children's games. From his sixteenth to his twenty-fourth year, he was a *Yuvarāja* or heir-apparent, and during this period he is represented to have mastered *Lekha*, *Rūpa*, *Gaṇanā* and *Vyavahāra*.<sup>4</sup> The first three of these terms are exactly identical with those employed in the above-quoted story of Upāli, and must therefore bear the same signification. It is true that neither *Lekha*, nor *Rūpa*, nor *Gaṇanā* can be a source of living to a prince. Nevertheless, it cannot

<sup>4</sup> *JBORS*, 1917, pp. 453, 481. [*Vidhi* (i. e. law, different from *Vyavahāra*, administration of justice) also occurs in this list of the Hāthigumphā inscription.—D. C. S.]

be denied that they must form a most essential factor of his education. A prince must learn *Lekha*, i.e. not merely writing A, B, C, but rather the artful style of writing and the different forms of royal writ. Similarly, in order that he may effect minimum of expenditure and maximum of receipts, he must be an adept in the science of *Gaṇanā*. The science of *Rūpa* also he cannot afford to ignore, for on his knowledge of it depend the tiding over of a financial crisis and the various methods of augmenting his revenue.

It will thus be seen that *Rūpa* had been recognised to be a science of coinage in ancient India. That it was looked upon as a science is clear, I think, from the fact that Buddhaghōṣa, while commenting on the passage from the *Mahāvagga* adverted to above, speaks of it as *Rūpasutta* which can only mean a set of rules concerning coins, in other words, the science of coinage. It was studied, as we have seen, by ordinary individuals for pursuing a profession to enable him to turn a *Rūpadarsaka*, a *Lakṣaṇādhyakṣa* or a *Sauvarṇika*. It was also a subject of serious study to a prince to make him fit for administration. *Rūpa* must, therefore, have been a science of coins which dealt with this subject not only from the minter's and assayer's, but also from the economist's and administrator's points of view.

Unfortunately for India, this *Rūpasūtra* or science of coinage has been lost to us. The very word *rūpa* in the sense of 'coin' is scarcely met with in Sanskrit and Prakrit literature from the beginning of the Christian era onwards. The term *rūpa* we now find replaced by *mudrā*; but we do not hear of any *Mudrāsūtra* or *Mudrāsāstra*, bearing this signification. This is an exceedingly grievous and irreparable loss to the historian, and the only course left to us now is to recover as much knowledge of this science as we can from a critical study of the actual coins of ancient India that have been so far picked up and also from stray references to the art of coinage preserved for us in the works of literature. It is not impossible to recon-



struct, in part at least, the science and history of numismatics from the sources just alluded to. To this task I will therefore set myself in this lecture and in the next.

I have already informed you that *rūpa* in the sense of 'coin' occurs in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. I have referred to the words *rūpya-rūpa* and *tāmra-rūpa* which he employs and which can mean 'silver and copper coins' only. I have also referred to an officer called by him *Rūpadarśaka* whose duty was to examine coins whether in circulation or brought to the royal treasury. To the period when Kauṭilya lived has been assigned Kātyāyana the grammarian, who composed *Vārttikas* on Pāṇini's *Sūtras*.\* In his gloss on Pāṇini's *Sūtra* I. 4.52, Kātyāyana gives a *Vārttika* which Patañjali illustrates by : *paśyati Rūpatarkaḥ Kārṣāpaṇaṁ darśayati Rūpatarkaḥ Kārṣāpaṇaṁ*. What exact bearing this example has upon the *Sūtra* and the *Vārttika* need not trouble us here. It is sufficient for our purpose if we understand the meaning of the words as they stand. They mean : "a *Rūpatarka* examines a *Kārṣāpaṇa*", and "one causes a *Rūpatarka* to examine a *Kārṣāpaṇa*." Here the inspection of a coin called *Kārṣāpaṇa* is associated with a *Rūpatarka*, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the *Rūpatarka* of Patañjali is identical with the *Rūpadarśaka* of Kauṭilya. It will thus be seen that *rūpa* in the sense of a 'coin' was known not only in the time of Kauṭilya, but also of Patañjali. If the term *rūpa* signifying a 'coin' was current from the time of Kauṭilya to that of Patañjali, there is nothing strange in our finding the word used in the early Pāli scriptures of the Buddhists. One instance will suffice here. About a century after the death of the Buddha, the venerable Yasa, while touring, once came to Vesālī and was staying with the Vajjian Bhikkhus. One Uposatha

\*[Kauṭilya and Kātyāyana may have flourished in the fourth century B.C. ; but the *Arthaśāstra*, as we have it now, cannot be assigned to such an early date.—D. C. S.]

day, he was shocked to find the Bhikkhus filling a copper-pot with water and placing it in the midst of the Saṅgha and saying to their lay disciples : 'Give, sirs, to the Saṅgha One, One-half, or One-fourth Kārṣāpaṇa, or a Māṣaka-rūpa.'<sup>5</sup> Here the word *rūpa* obviously signifies 'a coin', and the Māṣaka-rūpa denotes a token\* coin of Kārṣāpaṇa known as Māṣaka, as I have shown in the last lecture. This import of the term *rūpa* survived to a very late period, though it was by no means much in vogue after the beginning of the Christian era.<sup>6</sup> Thus the word *rūpa* or rather *rūpaka* occurs in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Book VI,<sup>7</sup> where a Brāhmaṇa is represented as telling to king Yaśaskara a pitiful tale of the loss of his money. This money, we are told consisted of one hundred *suvarṇa-rūpakas*, which Aurel Stein has rightly translated by 'gold coins,' and the same hoard is thrice referred to again as *rūpaka*. The *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* is not the only work of the late period which contains the word *rūpaka* with the meaning of 'a coin.' It has been traced, e. g., also in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*,<sup>8</sup> where in one place the Dināra has been referred to as the *svaṇa-rūpaka* or gold coin.

It will thus be seen that one of the senses of the word *rūpa* or *rūpaka* is 'coin' and that the *Rūpasūtra*, mentioned by Buddhaghosa, can very well signify 'the science or art of coinage'. But it is worthy of note that, side by side with *rūpa*, we have another term, viz. *rūpya*, which also is employed in the sense of 'a coin'. This word must have been current even prior to Pāṇini as he teaches its formation in the well-known *Sūtra* : *rūpād=āhata-praśaṁsayor = yap*.<sup>9</sup> The *Sūtra* says that the affix *ya* comes

5 VP, Vol. II, p. 294 ; SBE, Vol. XX, p. 387.

\*[The use of the word here and elsewhere is dubious.—D. C. S.]

6 See also *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini, V. 1. 48-49, where *Rūpaka* is used in the sense of 'a coin'.

7 Verses 45, 52, 60 and 66.

8 78. 11 and 13.

9 V. 2. 120.

in the sense of *matup*, after the word *rūpa*, when *āhata* (stamping) or *praśaṃsā* (praise) is denoted. Thus *rūpyo* [*gauḥ*] means *praśastaṁ rūpam* = *asy* = *āsti*, i.e. one with a praiseworthy form ; in other words, it means a good-looking bull. This is an instance of the word *rūpya* when *praśaṃsā* or praise is intended. But then what is the instance of this word where *āhata* or stamping is denoted ? Unfortunately for us this *Sūtra* is not commented upon by Kātyāyana or Patañjali, and the Kāśikā-kāra is the first grammarian whose gloss is available to us. Nevertheless even this gloss is of great importance. And in regard to the use of the term *rūpya* where the sense of *āhata*, i. e. of 'hammering or stamping' is intended, we are given the following instances : *āhataṁ rūpam* = *asya rūpyo Dīnāraḥ rūpyaḥ Kedāraḥ rūpyaḥ Kārṣāpaṇam*. The word *rūpya* thus denotes something on which a *rūpa* or figure is stamped. And what objects are these on which figures are stamped ? The Kāśikā-kāra tells us that they are Dīnāra, Kedāra and Kārṣāpaṇa. Very few of you perhaps know what Kedāra means. But most of you certainly know that Dīnāra and Kārṣāpaṇa are names of coins. The term *rūpya* thus denotes coins, and coins only, when the sense of *āhata* is understood. If any doubt remains on this point, it will I hope be removed by a consideration of what the *Amarakoṣa* says regarding this word. The lexicon refers to *rūpya* in two places. In one, *rūpya* is called 'stamped gold or silver',<sup>10</sup> and one commentary on it styled *Tikāsarvavsa* gives a detailed explanation by saying that *rūpya* denotes "Dīnāras, etc., struck with a hammer so as to cause the *rūpa* or figure of a man to rise on it both on the obverse and the reverse."<sup>11</sup> The *Amarakoṣa*<sup>12</sup> also speaks of the *Rūpyādhyakṣa* who is said to be no other than the *Naiṣṭika*. Kṣīrasvāmin, who

10 Amara, 11. 9. 92.

11 TSS, No. LI, p. 231.

12 II. 8. 7.

is looked upon as the most erudite commentator on this lexicon, says that *rūpya* in *Rūpyādhyakṣa* denotes Dīnāra and other coins, and *Naiṣkika* is a *Taṅkapati* or mint-master. In other words, the *Rūpyādhyakṣa* is a mint-master according to Amara. If *Rūpyādhyakṣa* signifies a mint-master, no doubt can be possibly entertained as to the term *rūpya* denoting 'a coin'. The only question that may be legitimately asked here is whether this word was known to Pāli literature as it has been mentioned by Pāṇini on the one hand and, Amara on the other. Unless the word can be shown to be occurring in the Pāli literature also, it may be contended and with some force no doubt, that it could not have been current among the people in general. I will, therefore, cite one instance from this literature. There are two verses in the *Pātimokkha* which relate to monetary transactions. I will translate them here as follows : "If again a mendicant should receive *jātarūpa* or gold and *raḍata* or silver, or get some one to receive it for him, or allow it to be put in deposit for him, it is a fault requiring restitution (V. 18). If again a mendicant should engage in any transactions of coined money, it is a fault requiring restitution (V. 19)." The expression with which we are chiefly concerned here is *rūpiya-saṃvohāra*, i.e., *rūpya-saṃvyavahāra*, which I have rendered by 'transactions of *rūpya* or coined money'. This translation alone can be correct, for the monetary transactions referred to in the first of these verses are distinguished from those in the second, and if the former refer only to gold and silver bullion in the first verse, the word *rūpya* in the second verse cannot possibly mean 'silver bullion' again, but must denote 'coined money' whether of gold, silver or any other metal.

We thus see that *rūpa* and *rūpya* both mean coined money, and that both the words were prevalent at the same time. If *rūpya* signified any metal piece on which a *rūpa* was stamped, the question naturally arises : how is it that both these words

of which one is a derivative of the other were being used in one and the same period ? In other words, were there any pieces of coined money which were so shaped that they were the *rūpas*, i.e. figures or representations of any real objects, and was there again another kind of coined money in circulation which consisted of metallic pieces, not shaped like, but impressed with these *rūpas* ? If for any unknown reasons evidence of this nature is not forthcoming from India, is it supplied by the prehistoric or historic archaeology of countries outside India ? This is the question that now confronts us. In fact, this was the question that confronted me when I was engaged upon the study of numismatics for these lectures. As Panchanan Mitra is the Lecturer of this University on prehistoric archaeology, naturally I turned to him for discussion of this subject as I did in the question of the origin of the Brāhmī alphabet on which I lectured to you last year ;\* and he was able to draw my attention to the researches of Ridgeway who has familiarised the antiquarian world by bringing the anthropological method to bear upon the interpretation of ancient history, especially of Greece. Ridgeway's main contention is that while mythological and religious subjects do occur on Greek coins, it can be shown that certain coins, even in historical times, were regarded as the representations of the objects of barter of more primitive times.<sup>13</sup> I will cite one typical instance. It is well known that the tunny fish continually passes in vast shoals through the sea of Marmora from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. This fish must therefore have formed the staple commodity of the communities that lived in those regions, and we know that the article which forms such a staple commodity forms money in

\*[ See *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, Vol. III, Part I, pp. 493-514. Cf. *JAIH*, Vol. IV, p. 437, note ; also Reprint, Part I, p. 31, note.—D. C. S.]

<sup>13</sup> Ridgeway, *Origin of Currency and Weight Standards*, pp. 315-17.

the age of barter. Now, the city of Olbia, which lay on the north shore of the Black Sea, was a Milesian colony, and was the Greek emporium in that region. There are bronze coins of this city that are shaped like fishes and inscribed with *Thg* which is taken to be the abbreviation of *Thúggos*, i.e. tunny, the fish. When we recall the Chinese bronze cowries, the Burmese silver shells, the silver fish hooks of the Indian Ocean, etc., we are constrained to believe that, in these coins of Olbia, shaped like fish, we have a distinct proof of the influence on the Greek mind of the same principle which has impelled other peoples to imitate in metal the older object of barter which a metal currency was replacing. Take now the case of the city of Cyzicus, situated on the coast of Asia Minor. Cyzicus, too, like Olbania,\* was a Greek autonomous city and depended for its wealth on its fisheries and trade. It too had its coins, but of electrum and not of bronze like those of Olbania. The coins of Cyzicus, again, were connected with the tunny fish. They, however, bore a representation of this fish on them and were not shaped like it as was the case with the coins of Olbania. The inhabitants of Olbania, though they originally represented a Greek colony, were largely intermixed with the surrounding barbarians and may, therefore, have felt some difficulty in replacing their barter unit by a round piece of metal bearing merely the imprint of a fish, while the pure-blooded Greeks of Cyzicus had no hesitation in mentally bridging the gulf between a real fish and a piece of metal merely stamped with a fish sign and did not require the intermediate step of first shaping his metal unit into the form of a tunny. Here then we have two Greek cities of one and the same period, viz. Olbania whose bronze coins were shaped like a tunny fish, and Cyzicus whose electrum coins merely bore the imprint of the fish, the tunny fish being in both cases their medium of barter which their metal-

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\*[It is mentioned above as 'Olbia' which seems to be better.—D. C. S.]

lic currency afterwards superseded. The coins of Olbania were thus the *rūpas*, i.e. coins which were the figures or images of the fish, whereas those of Cyzicus were the *rūpyas*, i.e. coins on which the *rūpa*, i.e. figure or representation, of a fish was impressed. A similar thing must have happened in the prehistoric period in India : that is to say, while the system of barter was being replaced by metallic currency, the metal unit, in some parts of India, must have been shaped like the article of barter, and in some parts the former merely contained the imprint of the latter. There could thus be some coins which were *rūpas*, and some, *rūpyas*. Unless some such explanation is adduced, it is impossible to understand how both the words *rūpa* and *rūpya* in the sense of 'coined money' were current side by side.\*

The instance which I have adduced to bring home to you the exact difference between the *rūpa* and *rūpya* classes of coinage is from the Greek numismatics of the protohistoric period. But you will perhaps be curious to know whether there is any evidence to show that there was any kind of *rūpa* coins ever prevalent in India even though no specimens are available now. I may therefore draw your attention to a type of coinage called Kapardaka-Purāṇa which is not unfrequently mentioned in the copper-plate grants of the Sena dynasty. Thus the Naihati plate of Ballālasena records the grant of the village of Vāllahitthā, whose annual income is stated to be 500 Kapardaka-Purāṇas.<sup>14</sup> Or take the Tarpandighi plate of Lakṣmanasena which registers the grant of a piece of land which is specified to have annually yielded a sum of 150 Kapardaka-Purāṇas.<sup>15</sup> In other Sena grants also, this coin has been mentioned.<sup>16</sup> But what can a Kapardaka-Purāṇa be ? Can it

\* [ Cf. *Raghu* and *Rāghava* used in the same sense.—D. C. S. ]

14 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 161, text line 46.

15 *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 9, text lines 37-38.

16 R. D. Banerji, *Prācīn Mudrā*, pp. 14-15.

denote a Purāṇa which is equal to one Kapardaka or cowrie in value ? This is impossible, because a Purāṇa must contain 32 Ratis of silver, which can never be equal to one cowrie in value. The only other sense possible is that Kapardaka-Purāṇa is a Purāṇa which is shaped like a Kapardaka or cowrie. If the Chinese had metallic cowries<sup>17</sup> and the Egyptians gold representations of them,<sup>18</sup> there is nothing strange at all in Bengal having Kapardaka-Purāṇas or silver cowries as metallic currency at least during the Sena period. The Kapardaka-Purāṇa of Sena inscriptions must thus represent a rūpa class of coinage.\*

Let us now see of what different substances the coins were made in ancient India. In this connection, allow me to draw your attention to a passage from the commentary on the *Vinaya Piṭaka* which I had occasion to refer to partly in my last lecture. Of course, it is scarcely necessary to repeat that the commentary was composed by the celebrated Buddhaghōṣa in the 5th century A.D. The passage is concerned with Kārsāpaṇa and its sub-division, the Māṣaka. We are told that the Kārsāpaṇa may be composed of gold or silver or may be the ordinary one, i.e. made of copper. The Māṣaka, we are further informed, may be of three different varieties.<sup>19</sup> One variety is that composed of copper, iron or some other metal. Another

17 J. W. Jackson, *Shells as Evidence of the Migrations of Early Culture*, pp. 178, 205 ; *JRAS*, 1888, pp. 428 ff.

18. G. E. Smith, *The Evolution of the Dragon*, p. 222.

\* [This suggestion is unconvincing. In the first place, if the Senas issued such coins in abundance in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a few of them must have been discovered by now along with the much earlier hoards of Kuṣāṇa, Gupta and post-Gupta coins. Secondly, *Kapardaka-Purāṇa* apparently means 'the standard silver money counted in cowrie-shells', just as *Paṇa-Purāṇa* of a Nepalese inscription means 'the standard silver money counted in copper coins'.—D. C. S.]

19 *Num. Or. : Anc. Ind. Weights*, p. 42, note ; *Int. Num. Or. : Anc. Coins and Measures of Ceylon*, p. 8.



variety is that made of *sāra* wood, the outside of the bamboo, or palmyra leaf, each of which has been turned into the Māṣaka coin by a *rūpa* or figure being cut into it. The third variety consists of lac or gum on which a *rūpa* or figure has been caused to rise up and which has thus become a Māṣaka. And Buddhaghōṣa winds up by saying that there are other kinds of money which are current in different parts of the country, but which have not been referred to by him. They are of bone or skin or the fruits or seeds of trees, and may be with or without a *rūpa* raised on it. This, in short, is the substance of the passage, and serves a rich pabulum to the numismatist. The very first conclusion that a careful consideration of this passage will suggest to you is the wide range of the meaning assigned to the term 'coin', it is with this conclusion really that we are concerned here. What do you generally understand by a coin? I will take here the definition which has been given by V. A. Smith and which is the one generally accepted. Coins, according to him, denote 'metallic pieces of definite weight authenticated as currency by marks recognised as a guarantee of value'.<sup>20</sup> Thus in all classes, coins, to be coins, must be metallic pieces. But at least two classes of Māṣaka specified by Buddhaghōṣa were certainly not of metal. The Māṣakas, which were made of wood, bamboo or palm-leaf or which consisted of lac or gum, cannot possibly be described as metallic pieces. Māṣakas, however, were a class of coins. And as the two kinds of money just referred to have been designated as Māṣaka, they must be regarded as coins. And, as a matter of fact, we know that they bore *rūpas* on them, which certainly were 'marks recognised as a guarantee of value'. No doubt can possibly be entertained as to these two classes of money being looked upon as coins by the people though they were not made of metal. Evidently they understood the term 'coin' in a much wider sense than we do now.

<sup>20</sup> *Imp. Gaz. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 135.

We shall now first take the metals of which coins were composed. The passage from Buddhaghosa's commentary, we have just seen, speaks four such metals, viz. gold, silver, copper and iron. Coins of gold, silver and copper belonging to the pre-Muhammadan period have been found in numbers. No ancient coin of iron, however, has yet been found ; at any rate, none is yet known to me. And even in the modern period, I have not been able to trace more than one reference to it. Mention of an iron coin has been made by W. Elliot in connection with the old coinage of the Travancore State.<sup>21</sup> It must not be supposed that these are the only metals of which coins were made in ancient India. Lead, nickel and mixed metals like potin and billon were also brought into requisition. Thus the *Nidānakathā* prefixed to the Jātakas speaks of the *Sisa-Kāhāpaṇa* or lead *Kārṣāpaṇa*. And, as is well known, lead coins are found issued shortly before and after the beginning of the Christian era and both in North and South India. The use of lead for the first time occurs in the coinages of Strato, Azes and Rañjuvula who ruled over North India\* and before or about the commencement of the Christian era. Lead coinage was issued also by the Andhrabhṛtya dynasty and is found exclusively in Āndhradeśa, the home of the race, in the Anantapur and Cuddapah Districts and in the region of the Coromandel Coast. Lead currency is found exclusively also in the Chitaldrug and Karwar Districts, but issued by the Mahārāṭhis and the Kadambas.<sup>22</sup> And it is associated, in the Kolhāpur region, with the potin coinage struck by Viḷivāyakura and his successors. Lead coinage seems to have been temporarily introduced apparently by *Mahākṣatrapa* Rudrasena III, in Malwa, during the period when his silver coins are not found.

As regards the use of nickel for coinage, Cunningham was

21 *Int. Num. Or. : Coins of S. Ind.*, p. 137.

\* [ Better—north-western part of the Indian sub-continent.—Ed. ]

22 *CICBM—AKTB*, Intro., pp. cxlv ff., clxxxii ff.

the first to trace it in the money of the Indo-Greek kings.<sup>23</sup> While once he was carefully examining the coins of Euthydemus, Agathocles and Pantaleon which had been described as silver, a suspicion crossed his mind, and he sent some specimens of them to Walter Flight for analysis. The coins were found to contain a considerable amount of nickel and in proportions differing but little from those of the nickel pieces of Belgium. Flight's analysis produced a sensation because 'nickel was first shown to be a metal by Cronstedt in 1751'. Whether nickel was used for coinage in India before the time of these Indo-Greek princes is not certain. But Cunningham draws our attention to the statement of Quintus Curtius that 'near the junction of the Five Punjab rivers, Alexander received from the Oxydracae and Malli, a present of 100 talents of 'white iron' (*ferri candidi*)'. This 'white iron' can be either tin or nickel. But tin was a soft metal and therefore unsuitable for coinage. Besides, it was well-known to the Greeks who could not have therefore described it as 'white iron'. Nickel, on the other hand, thinks Cunningham, is hard and magnetic as well as white, and as it was not known to the Greeks, they could justly call it 'white iron'. Thus in his opinion nickel was employed for the purposes of currency by the Indian tribes Kṣudrakas and Mālavas in the time of Alexander and, consequently, certainly prior to that of the Indo-Greek dynasties.\*

The other mixed metals that were used for minting coins in ancient India are potin and billon. The term 'potin' has been invented by the numismatists<sup>24</sup> to denote an alloy which is composed of yellow and red copper, lead, tin and some dross. And according to the varying proportions of its first two ingredients they look sometimes like bronze and sometimes like

23 *Num. Chr.*, Vol. XIII (1873), pp. 188ff

\* [Very doubtful. No coins are referred to here, and we have no word for nickel.—D. C. S.]

24 Babelon, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines*, Vol. I, p. 371.

lead. Again, billon is to silver what potin is to bronze. I have already made reference to the fact that potin coinage was struck along with lead coinage by Viṣṇvāyaka and his successors in the district round about Kolhāpur. Potin coinage was issued also by the Andhrabhṛtya kings, but exclusively in the Chanda District of the Central Provinces.\* The Kṣatrapa dynasty founded by Caṣṭana had also its potin coinage; but curiously enough it was struck by the Mahākṣatrapas of the family, was confined to Malwa, and was discontinued soon after 236 A.D.

We have already seen on the authority of Buddhaghōṣa that there were some coins, viz. the Māṣakas, which were made of wood, bamboo, plam-leaf, and even lac, and impressed with a *rūpa*. He further tells us that there were also pieces of bone and leather or fruits and seeds of trees which passed for money and which were with or without a *rūpa*. As all the substances are of a perishable nature, it is not surprising that these varieties of money have not been preserved. Rhys Davids has, however, drawn our attention to a lacquer medal which was in the possession of Pearse, and says that it may represent the lacquer Māṣaka coin referred to by Buddhaghōṣa.<sup>25</sup> Which of these substances were employed, and up to what periods, for the purposes of money is a subject which has not yet been properly investigated. It is nevertheless a subject on which investigation not only is possible, but also will be of an interesting nature. I may here give one instance. Among the multifarious objects out of which, as Buddhaghōṣa informs us, money was made, is *camma*, i.e. leather. As leather is a perishable substance, no specimens of leather-money, which were in circulation for any length of time, can be expected to be found anywhere now, and, as a matter of fact, none has yet been found. Again, *prima facie*, leather is a substance which seems so unfit for

\* [Chanda is now in Maharashtra.—D.C.S.]

25 *Int. Num. Or.: Anc. Coins and Measures of Ceylon*, p. 8.

the purposes of coinage that, having not yet discovered any single leather coin,<sup>26</sup> one begins to suspect whether Buddhaghōṣa, after all, was not drawing upon his imagination. But we have good evidence to show that, there was some kind of leather-money actually prevalent in Maharashtra in the thirteenth century A. D., i.e. full eight hundred years even after Buddhaghōṣa. Some of you may have heard of the earliest poet-saint of Maharashtra, named Jñānadeva. He composed his Marāṭhī commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā* in Śaka 1212=1290 A. D., when the Yādava king Rāmacandra was ruling over the Deccan. In this commentary on the Divine Lay, Chapter IX, there are two *Oṽ* verses which are worth considering and which I translate here as literally as possible : “If but the letters of the royal order are on a scrap of leather, through that very leather are all commodities obtainable (v. 453). Even gold and silver have no value without those letters. The royal order is the principal thing. If a single leather piece of that kind is obtained, all things become purchasable (v. 454).” I have thus placed a literal translation before you. And I have done so purposely, because I myself do not know what exact conclusion to draw from it. Of course, we have here a clear reference to leather-money ; but whether it is leather-coins or currency notes, I confess, I am unable to determine.

We shall now turn to another subject connected with ancient Indian numismatics, viz., the shape and the technic of manufacture of coins. I hope you remember the passage from the *Visuddhimagga* to which I drew your attention in my last lecture. Buddhaghōṣa therein describes the Kārṣāpaṇas lying on

26 In this connection, I may refer to a story occurring in the *Khulasat-ut-Tawārikh* to which Zafar Hasan drew my attention. A certain water-carrier saved the life of Humāyūn who therefore seated the former on his throne for half a day, and during this short period the water-carrier is reported to have issued coins out of his leather bag. But none of these coins has yet been found.

the wooden board of a Hairanyika or goldsmith, and incidentally speaks of their various shapes. They are *citra-vicitra* or 'of irregular form',\* *dirgha* or elongated, *caturasra* or rectangular, and *parimaṇḍala* or circular. And, as a matter of fact, we do find coins of all these forms, especially among Kārṣāpanas. Thus there are some punch-marked coins which are unsymmetrical in form, that is to say, which have practically no regular shape. These most probably are referred to by the term *citra-vicitra*. Coins of this class alone can be called 'rude and ugly' or 'singularly crude and ugly' as no doubt some archaeologists have described the 'punch-marked' coins in general. The elongated or 'rectangular form of the coins call for no comments, because numerous specimens of these have been known. The *parimaṇḍala* or round form of the coins, however, requires to be considered here, because the Indian coins are believed to be typically oblong. and not round. This view is held by almost all numismatists including even Cunningham.<sup>27</sup> But it is a mistake to suppose that there were no coins circular in form among the Kārṣāpanas, which are now accepted to be the most ancient and indigenous money of India. If you look to Nos. 7, 11 and 12 on Plate XIX in Smith's *Catalogue*, you will at once see that they are round Kārṣāpanas and also that they scarcely deserve to be called 'rude and ugly'. Even on the sculpture of Bharhut which represents the famous story of the purchase of the garden of Prince Jeta by the merchant Anāthapindika covering the ground surface of the garden with coins, all the pieces represented are not square as assumed by Cunningham.<sup>28</sup> There are some in this sculpture which are distinctly

\* [C. D. Chatterjee thinks that the expression means 'bearing haphazard marks' and that the reference is to the symbols on the coins and not to their shape. See *Bud. Stud.*, ed B C. Law, p. 432 and note : cf. S. Bandyopadhyay in *Early Indian Indigenous Coins*, ed. Sircar, pp. 157-58, and Sircar, *ibid.*, p. 158, note.—D. C. S.]

27 *Num. Chr.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 207, 213 ; *CAI*, pp. 52-53.

28 *CAI*, p. 53.

round, and the wonder of it is how this escaped his notice. It is hinted by some numismatists that the Hindus for the first time adopted the round form for their coins from the Indo-Bactrian Greeks. But this is a mere surmise, for which no evidence has been adduced, or rather which is opposed to the evidence. For, in the first place, what about the coins bearing on them the legends *Vaṭasyaka* and *Kāḍasa*? Cunningham attributes them to a date 'anterior to the Greek conquest of Alexander'. Bühler, however, holds that it is perhaps safer to say 'anterior to the Greek conquest of Demetrius'.<sup>29</sup> Anyhow these coins are admitted to be of a time prior to the rise of the Indo-Bactrian power. But are they not round in shape? Nay, the Indians knew of round coins long long anterior to the Greek conquest of Demetrius or Alexander. In my second lecture, I hope you remember, I had occasion to refer to a passage from the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, which speaks of the practice of a king fastening two Śatamāna coins to a back wheel of his chariot in a particular portion of the Rājasūya ceremony. And it is worthy of note that these Śatamānas are expressly stated to be *ṛitta* or round in form. It is not thus possible to assert that the circular form of the coins was first suggested to the Hindus when the Indo-Bactrian Greeks came in contact with them.

Now, a few words about the manufacture of coins or rather the mode of evolution in the technique of the indigenous Indian coinage. The Indians seem to have begun with 'a hammered sheet, which was then cut into strips, and subdivided into lengths of approximately the desired weight, which was adjusted by clipping the corners when necessary'.<sup>30</sup> Nobody can examine

<sup>29</sup> *IS*, Vol. III, p. 48.

<sup>30</sup> Smith, *CCIM*, p. 134. [Similar coins were made several at a time from moulds by pouring molten metal in the latter. Such dies for casting coins have been discovered.—D.C.S.]

any lot of punch-marked coins without perceiving that this was the mode of manufacture. There was, however, one small difference in regard to punching. In a few cases punches were applied to the surface of the hammered sheet before it was cut into strips. This is clear from the fact that sometimes some of the symbols punched are not to be seen in full on these coins. In a good many cases, however, the strips seem to have been cut out first and then punched. On all the coins belonging to this initial stage we find symbols impressed on them irregularly and by separate punches. The first stage of progress is marked where a group of these symbols forms a distinct type, and is impressed not each by a separate punch, but is struck by a single die, which, however, covers not the whole, but about two-thirds of the piece. But the reverse face here remains blank.<sup>31</sup> "The next advance may be traced in the adaptation of the anvil to the first crude idea of a reverse, in a sunk-die or catch of small dimensions cut into the anvil itself."<sup>32</sup> The third stage is thus represented by coins where the obverse die covers the whole face but the reverse die is smaller than the blank.<sup>33</sup> The last stage is of course indicated by the full double die system where the whole face is covered by a die whether on the obverse or the reverse. "The final adoption of the 'double-die' system", says V.A. Smith, "was undoubtedly due to Greek and Roman example."<sup>34</sup> What Smith's remark comes to is that the Indians were, of course, capable of introducing improvement into and thus developing the technic of manufacture of coins before the advent of the Greeks, but that their last step, although it was the natural culmination of their gradual advance in the indigenous numismatic art,

31 Rapson, *IC*, Pl. II. 46.

32 *Num. Or : Anc. Ind. Weights*, p. 54.

33 *Num. Chr.*, Vol. XIII, p. 207.

34 *Imp. Gaz. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 137.



they could effect only when the Macedonians came to teach them !!!

"Another mechanical means—specially favoured by the aptitude of the home workmen in that direction—consisted in the casting of coins. We can only follow the general progress of this art by the merits of the devices employed, which gradually improve in treatment and finish."<sup>35</sup>

We now come to the consideration of the administrative aspect of the science of ancient Indian coinage. And the first question that arises here for our consideration is : who exercised the prerogative of coinage. Of course, so far as the historic times go, this prerogative pertained to the Sovereign, whether it was Sovereign One or Sovereign Number. That most of the old coins were issued by rulers, foreign or indigenous to India, is too well known to require any demonstration. And I had more than one occasion to tell you that coins were issued not only by individual rulers but also by Ganas or Oligarchies, Naigamas or Autonomous Cities, and Janapadas or Provincial Democracies. Coinage thus was the special privilege of the State in ancient India. I am aware that instances of what may be called 'Temple coinage' are by no means unknown, and I may draw your attention in this connection to a paper contributed by Robert Sewell to the *Indian Antiquary*, 1903. In this paper he describes coins which were struck at the principal temples in Southern India. It is true that they were not connected with any regular State issues ; but there is every reason to suppose that they were nevertheless struck by, or, at any rate, with the sanction of, the State. And, in fact, this is admitted by Sewell himself. For in regard to certain temple coins struck in the Pudukottah State,\* we are distinctly told by him that four such are given by the Rajah of Pudukottah to

35. *Num. Or. : Anc. Ind. Weights*, p. 55.

\* [ Now in the Tanjavur District of Tamilnadu.—Ed. ]

each recipient of his rice-dole, distributed in honour of the festival of Dusserah. It, therefore, stands uncontroverted that the prerogative of coinage belongs to the State. This does not, however, mean that the State did not sometimes permit private individuals or firms to coin money, whether of the higher or lower denominations. Of course, in modern times we have instances of both these kinds. Thus about Central India at the beginning of the nineteenth century, John Malcolm tells us that the work of coining was vested in no particular body or individuals, and that any banker or merchant sufficiently conversant in the business, had merely to apply to Government, presenting a trifling acknowledgement and engaging to produce coin of the regulated standard, and pay the proper fees on its being assayed and permitted to pass current. This must refer to coins of higher value.<sup>36</sup> Similarly, as V. A. Smith informs us, 'to this day the people of Bihar and Gorakhpur prefer the unauthorised "dumpy pice" made at private mints in Nepal to the lawful copper coinage of the British Government'.<sup>37</sup> This, of course, must refer to the token coinage issued by private agencies to supply the gaps which State issues leave unfilled and thus facilitate small transactions. It will thus be seen that coins are known in modern times to have been occasionally struck by private agencies which are of both higher and lower denominations. And so the question arises whether private coinage of this description was at all known to ancient India. I confess no conclusive evidence has yet been adduced in support of this position.\* I am aware that some coins found in the Punjab with the word *negamā* on the obverse have been looked upon by Bühler and others as token money issued by local mercantile guilds. But I have elsewhere shown that the word *negamā*,

36. Malcolm, *Central India*, Vol. II, pp. 80-81.

37. *Imp. Gaz. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 138.

\* [For such evidence, see Sircar, *SIC*, pp. 101ff.—D.C.S.]

though it can mean 'traders' or 'merchants', can never denote 'a guild' but must stand for the *naigamāḥ* of the Smṛtis in the sense of 'townsmen' collectively, i. e. a city-state. I am also not unaware that punch-marked coinage is regarded by V.A. Smith as 'a private coinage issued by guilds and silversmiths with the permission of the ruling powers'.<sup>38</sup> Smith is here echoing the opinion of Rapson but with some difference. He holds that the obverse punches were impressed by different moneyers through whose hands the pieces passed. According to Rapson, if I have understood him correctly, all the obverse punches may in some cases be ascribed to individual merchants.<sup>39</sup> Smith's view involves the assumption that the obverse punches were invariably impressed in a haphazard fashion. This view has been shown utterly untenable by Spooner, as I told you in my last lecture. When the obverse devices are in most cases found to occur in constant and regular groups, no sane scholar can subscribe to the view that they were affixed haphazard by shroffs and moneyers. But the question that presents itself to us here is whether these different groups of symbols were the characteristic marks of different merchants as contended by Rapson or of different localities as maintained by Spooner. Of course, such of these groups as contain the river or the hill symbol, e. g., can scarcely be thought to be distinguishing devices of individual merchants, but must be taken to be the peculiar marks of localities, as I showed in my last lecture. There can therefore be no doubt as to some of these groups being the special marks of particular towns and villages to which the coins bearing those groups must be assigned. Nevertheless, some of the groups may have belonged to individual merchants as is held by Rapson. This is not at all unlikely, though it cannot be definitely proved.

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<sup>38</sup> *CCIM*, p. 133.

<sup>39</sup> *JRAS*, 1895, p. 874.

The next point that must engage our attention is : who were the officials connected with coinage. The only source of our information on this point is Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. Unfortunately, it does not supply us with much information. Nevertheless, what little we can glean from it is valuable. The first official that may be mentioned is *Lakṣaṇādhyakṣa*, or *Rūpyādhyakṣa* as he is called in the *Amarakoṣa*. He is obviously the Superintendent of Mint. Kauṭilya speaks of him but once. "The Superintendent of Mint," says he, "shall manufacture silver coins (*rūpya-rūpa*), such as Paṇa, Half-Paṇa, Quarter-Paṇa and One-eighth-Paṇa consisting of four parts of copper and one-sixteenth part (*māṣa*) of any one of the metals *tikṣṇa*, *trapu*, *śiśa* and *añjana*, [and shall manufacture] copper coins (*tāmra-rūpa*) such as Māṣaka, Half Māṣaka, Kākaṇī and Half-Kākaṇī, consisting of four parts of alloy." In my last lecture, I showed you what light this passage throws on Kārṣāpaṇa and its token money. What we are concerned with here is the proportion in which the metal of the coin is mixed with its alloy. In the case of copper coins, the alloy forms one-fourth, and in the case of silver, five-sixteenth part of the whole piece. Many years ago, Alexander Cunningham had assays made of no less than 113 silver Kārṣāpanas, and he found that the amount of silver in them varied from 75.2 to 86.2 per cent. This is perhaps the reason why Smith remarks about these coins that 'the metal is usually impure silver, containing about 20 per cent of alloy'. But certainly they contain far more silver than was the case in the time of Kauṭilya who allows as much as 31.25 per cent of alloy.

It is a pity that Kauṭilya gives us no information about the subordinates who served under the *Lakṣaṇādhyakṣa* or about the process in which coins were manufactured in his time. The second officer he mentions in connection with coins is *Rūpadarśaka*. "The *Rūpadarśaka*," says he, "shall establish the circula-

tion of coined money (*paṇa-yātrā*), whether relating to commercial transactions or admissible into the treasury. [The premia levied on coins] shall be [from the manufacturer] 8 per cent known as *rūpika*, [from the seller and purchaser] 5 per cent as *vyāji*, [from the appraiser] one-eighth Paṇa per cent as *pārikṣika*, and a fine of 25 Paṇas from [persons] other than the manufacturer, the seller and the purchaser, or the appraiser." Now, what does this passage tell us? It appears that there was regular trade carried on in coined money in Kauṭilya's time. In the first place, it seems that there was a system of free coinage; that is to say, any private individual could bring any quantity of bullion to the mint for being coined on his own account. For this he had to pay the premium of 8 per cent called *rūpika*. Secondly, there was a regular sale and purchase of coins going on, for which both the parties had to pay 5 per cent on their profit to the State. Thirdly, there appears to have been a class of men called *Parikṣitr*, i. e. *Pārikh* in modern parlance, who remained in business locality and to whom the people brought, for appraising, coins coming from all quarters in the course of commerce. These appraisers must certainly have derived some profit, though perhaps not a huge one as compared with the first two classes of dealers, and had therefore to pay only one-eighth per cent called *parikṣika*. It is possible to conceive that, in these monetary transactions, there was occasionally transgression of law, and such offenders were punished with a fine of twenty-five Paṇas. All these transactions, it will be seen, relate to the commercial sphere, i. e. to *vyavahārika-paṇa-yātrā*, as Kauṭilya calls it. The *Rupadarśaka* had to regulate this traffic in coins, and also collect whatever was due to the State on that account. But the said officer was not connected with coin transactions going on in the commercial circles only. He had also to supervise *kośa-praveśya-paṇa-yātrā*, that is to say, the coined money to be entered into the

royal treasury. In another place, Kauṭilya tells us that the officer called *Sannidhātṛ* shall receive into the treasury only such *hiraṇya* or gold coins\* as have been declared to be pure by the *Rūpadarśaka* and destroy those that are not genuine. What this exactly means we do not know. But certainly money must pour into the royal treasury in a variety of ways, such as taxes, tribute and so forth. There is therefore every chance of counterfeit coins being also smuggled along with good money. And it seems that it was the duty of the *Rūpadarśaka* to see that none but genuine coins were deposited in the treasury.

It is not to be expected that such a big officer as the *Rūpadarśaka* could personally examine all coins and detect those that were counterfeit. He must have had a number of officials under him, and this must have been the duty of one of them. The name of this subordinate official has nowhere been mentioned by Kauṭilya ; but, from the passage of Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga* to which I have more than once drawn your attention, it appears that he could be no other than the *Hairaṇyika* or *Sauvarṇika* as he has been termed in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. One of his duties, as I have mentioned to you in my last lecture, was to find out at what village, town, hill or river and by what mint-master any particular coin was struck.\*\* Another function of his was to detect what coin was genuine, what counterfeit, and what partly genuine and partly counterfeit. And we are told that he performed these duties by observing the coins, by handling them, by sounding, smelling and even licking them. It is not quite clear why the *Hairaṇyikas* had to use their senses of smell and taste. At any rate, none of the shroffs of the modern day who are their successors are known to make use of these senses. Is it possible that they had to use them to distinguish between wood, bamboo, palm-

\* [ Here *hiraṇya* probably means 'coined money' ; see below.—D.C.S. ]

\*\* [Note that the State is not connected with the issue of coins.—D.C.S.]

leaf, seed and similar coins which must have been in existence as I have shown to you already on the authority of Buddha-ghoṣa ?

We have just seen that it was the duty of the *Rūpadarśaka* and his Assistants such as *Hairāṇyika* to distinguish between genuine and counterfeit coins. For the facilitation of monetary transactions, it was essential that coins of fixed weight or value should be in circulation. No wonder if we find Kauṭilya laying down that the manufacturer of counterfeit coins shall be banished, as also those who deal in such coins or try to lower their quality by mixing them with alloys. Those who have read Yājñavalkya need not be told how this law-giver prescribes the highest fine for those who falsify a *nāṇaka*, i.e. coin, or knowingly use such a one. This is just as it should be. But although it was necessary for a State to take such drastic steps for the prevention of the manufacture of counterfeit coins or of tampering with the currency, sometimes the Government was itself compelled to take just the sort of action which it wanted to suppress in others. Of course, I am not here referring to the cases in which, in consequence of economic circumstances, there is an increase in the price of a particular metal out of which coins are made and in which the State is therefore forced to reduce the usual fixed weight of any denomination of its coins. I hope you remember what I said, in my last lecture, about a species of copper coinage prevalent in Aurangzib's time. Owing to the enhancement of the price of copper, the weight of these copper *Dāms*, as I told you, had to be curtailed by as much as seven *Māṣas*. A similar cause may have operated, as I also then told you, in reducing the weight of copper *Kārṣāpāṇa* and its tokens at some periods in the ancient town of Vidiśā and may thus explain in one way the discrepancy of weight in that class of coinage. Such also must have been the case at the time of Kauṭilya. I told you a short

while ago that Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* allowed as much as 31.25 per cent of alloy in silver coins, whereas the silver Kārṣāpaṇas assayed by Cunningham contained only 20 per cent of it. This means that during the period when Kauṭilya lived, silver had become so expensive that economic exigencies necessitated a higher percentage of alloy being mixed with it in order that the original standard of value might be maintained.\* This admixture of a large percentage of alloy is perfectly intelligible and justifiable, and this can hardly be called debasement of coinage. But I am not here referring to such cases, but rather to those where deterioration or sophistication of the currency was deliberate and was necessitated by the exhausted condition of the state treasury or by the disturbed political condition of the country. Thus if Kauṭilya prescribes that silver coins shall comprise 31.25 per cent of alloy, one can only infer that, in his time, silver had augmented in value. But if Kauṭilya is credited or rather discredited, as in some Buddhist works, with having converted [by recoinage] each Kārṣāpaṇa into eight for the purpose of raising resources and thus having amassed 80 crores of Kārṣāpaṇas,<sup>40</sup> the motive could have been purely political and the step surreptitiously taken to avoid any confidence of the people being shaken in the supposed purity and value of the currency in circulation. How Kauṭilya recoinage one Kārṣāpaṇa into eight we do not know; but it would be interesting to find out what some of the methods practised in ancient days were. This is not impossible to find out, because we have only to separate true coins from those which are of a suspicious character, and subject the latter to a rigorous examination. Such a thing has not yet been systematically attempted; nor is it my object to do so here, because there are not yet enough materials for it. My object here is

\* [Note the contradiction of this suggestion with what he says in Lecture III at p. 94 (JAIH, Vol. IV, p. 474; Reprint, Part I, p. 68). —D.C.S.]

40 Max Müller, *HASL*, p. 289; *Num. Or. : Anc. Ind. Weights*, p. 41.



to draw your attention to certain old Kārṣāpanas which have been admitted to be adulterated in order that some young numismatist here may, in the near future, devote his special attention to this subject. One of the commonest methods of debasing coinage is undoubtedly by increasing the admixture of alloy. But in what quantity this alloy was mixed in different periods and in different parts of the country it is not possible to know unless coins in various types are actually subjected to a chemical analysis. The tabulation of the results of such an analysis must enable us to arrive at important conclusions. Now that the Archæological Chemist has been given by Government to the Archæological Department, let us hope that before long such a tabulation will be made ready for the study of those interested in Indian numismatics. Another method of adulterating the currency is that well described by Theobald. "Some coins," says he, "are formed of a copper blank thickly covered with silver, before receiving the impression of the punches, and this contemporary (if not time-honoured) sophistication of the currency is found to occur subsequently in various Indian coinages, in the Graeco-Bactrian rulers of the Punjab, the Hindu kings of Kabul, and later still in various Muhammadan dynasties of the Peninsula. The plating is extremely well executed and of the most durable character, covering the edge of the coin as well as its surface. I was for sometime at a loss to know by what means this was effected, so long ago as 500 B.C. perhaps ; but I am told that a bright copper 'blank' dipped into melted silver would become coated with that metal, and this, I have little doubt, was the plan followed. By this means a number of copper 'blanks' thrown into a ladle of melted silver and well stirred about would all come out ready for the impression of the die or punch and it is possible that 'blanks' thus surreptitiously prepared may have been introduced into the royal mint, and there struck with genuine dies, and the coins thus prepared substituted for an

equal number of genuine pieces.<sup>41</sup> This is indeed a very cunning mode of multiplying currency in times of political stress when the treasury is depleted, but more money urgently required. This again is a method which cannot arouse suspicion, for plated coins, until thoroughly worn, are certainly, in look and finish, exact equals of those composed entirely of silver. Specimens of plated coinage are by no means unfrequent. They were detected, e.g., by E.H.C. Walsh in a find of punch-marked coins in Patna City. He has found many coins in this hoard which were however sophisticated by a different method. He says that, when these coins were found thickly coated with verdigris deposit, which accounted for as much as 13 per cent of the weight of the coins after they were cleaned. "The reason for this large amount of copper," says he, "is due to the fact that apart from any proportion of alloy in the coin, several of the coins have been debased by the addition of molten copper to the original silver coin, presumably to make up for weight. That this was subsequently added is shown by the fact that it remains over the punch-marks."<sup>42</sup>

It is thus quite conceivable that the *Rūpasūtra* of ancient India treated of various subjects connected with coinage, such as (1) the metals and other substances out of which coins were made, (2) their shape and technique, (3) the different devices on them and how to find out therefrom at what different places they were manufactured, (4) the running of a mint, (5) the various officers connected not only with the manufacture, but also with the regulation of traffic in coined money, (6) the methods of differentiating genuine from counterfeit coins, and (7) above all, the modes of multiplying currency mostly, I am afraid, by cunning sophistication. It is also quite conceivable that this *Rūpasūtra* can be an object of serious study not only to a private individual for his avocation, but also to a prince for the purposes of administration.

41 JASB, 1890. p. 182.

42 JBORS, 1919, pp. 16-17.

## LECTURE V

### History of Coinage in Ancient India

In this lecture I propose to deal, briefly of course, with the history of coinage in ancient India. I am afraid, I shall have here to go over some of the ground which I have traversed in my previous lectures. The earliest period to which the use of coinage can be traced is that which saw the rise and development of the Vedic literature. As Winternitz has told us, this period commences in all probability with 2500 B. C.\* I hope you remember his views on this point which I quoted in my second lecture when I was discussing the 'Antiquity of Coinage'. In my third lecture, as you will remember, I had to treat of the Kārṣāpaṇa coinage, specimens of which are reported to have been picked up in the excavations of the Pāṇḍu-kuṛis or megaliths with which the southern part of India is especially studded. The date of these megaliths unfortunately has not yet been definitely established ; and although it is possible that some of them were anterior to the Aryan immigration into India, it is on the whole safe to assign them to 1500 B.C., i.e. later than the beginning of the Vedic period.\*\* It will thus be seen that the remotest antiquity to which the use of coins can be traced is, after all, the beginning of the Vedic period.

The earliest composition of the Vedic period is, as you all know, represented by the hymns of the *Ṛgveda*. And in my second lecture, I had occasion to tell you that, in the *Rgvedic* period itself, there were two types of metallic currency, preva-

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\*[The evidence is dubious. See *JAIH*, Vol. IV, p. 457, note ; also Reprint, Part I, p. 51, note.—D.C.S.]

\*\*[Some of them are as late as the fourth century A.D. See *JAIH*, Vol. IV, p. 485, note ; Reprint, Part I, p. 79, note.—D.C.S.]

lent side by side. One of them was known as *hiranya-piṇḍa* or buttons of gold, and the other *niṣka* which were actually gold coins.\* If at the beginning of the Vedic period stamped money was current side by side with unstamped money, it is clear that the metallic currency of India must have had an earlier origin, i.e. an origin earlier than the time of even the *R̥gveda*. And if such is the case with the metallic coinage of this country, the age when any kind of currency first originated in India must be pushed back still earlier. Hence before we actually begin the history of coinage in ancient India, it seems desirable to say a few words, or rather to make a few guesses, in regard to the condition of currency that may have prevailed in this country before the advent of the Aryans. I can quite imagine, at this stage, some doubt crossing the mind of most of you here as to how I could even surmise the state of currency in pre-Vedic India. But what Ridgeway has done in regard to the prehistoric or protohistoric currency of Greece can also be attempted on a modest scale in regard to India provided we follow his method which is typically the anthropological approach. It is possible to study the different kinds of currency in use amongst the savage tribes of various stages of civilisation and compare them to the similar ones that were prevalent in India, whether in the protohistoric or even the historic period. If you, for instance, concentrate your attention on the *Sūtras* of Pāṇini, especially those which are comprised in the sections called *tena kṛitām* and *tad=arhati*, it cannot fail to make a very interesting economic history of India. You will find that not only coins of different types and metals were current in Pāṇini's time, but that many transactions used to take place with the help of various media of exchange. Three instances will suffice here. The first is

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\*[The evidence is doubtful. See JAIH, Vol. IV, p. 456, note ; Reprint, Part I, p. 50, note 45.—D.C.S.]

*Sūtra* V. 1.27, which shows that objects could sometimes be purchased with *vasana* or 'pieces of cloth of definite value', a practice which is still followed in some parts of India, notably Rajasthan. Nay, if you turn to *Sūtra* V. 1. 19, you will find that the people of India in Pāṇini's age sometimes employed even a *go-puccha* or bovine tail as a circulating medium. A similar practice, I am told, is prevalent to this day in Nepal, where the tail of a yak, a species of ox, which is used as chaurie, is exchanged for other commodities. But whether this yak-tail is actually denoted by Pāṇini's *go-puccha* is more than doubtful, because the proper Sanskrit word for the former is *camara* which occurs also in early works such as the *Mahābhārata*. And *go-puccha*, I am afraid, has to be understood in the primary sense of a cow's tail, howsoever polluting and revolting such a custom may now appear to us. There are, again, at least three *Sūtras* in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, which speak of *kamsa*, *śarpa* and *khārī* in connection with purchase of commodities. But as these are clearly measures of capacity, the only inference possible is that such commodities were bought by means of these measures and most probably with grains which were the staple food of a province. To this day the custom of purchasing things with food-stuff, such as rice grains, is not unknown in India, especially in rural regions. Now just see what these *Sūtras* teach us in regard to the different classes of articles that were used for currency purposes. Of course, coins were known in Pāṇini's time, and, as some of their names again are also of metal weights, we can imagine that metals by weight were also used as currency as they no doubt were in Burma till the middle of the nineteenth century. But if it is supposed that because some sort of metallic currency or another was prevalent in Pāṇini's time, there were no media of exchange in use such as we find in more or less uncivilised tribes of the modern day, I am afraid this supposition cannot be regarded as well-founded. For these media of exchange not only were prevalent at the

this day. But it is only when metals become substances for money that a fairly high degree of civilisation is supposed to have been reached. And clear references even to this form of money are contained in all parts of Vedic literature, not excluding the *R̥gveda* which is the earliest.

The employment of metals as money material was thus known to India about the beginning of the Vedic period, i. e. c. 2500 B.C. as I have told you.\* It is impossible, however, to determine the exact order of their appearance in this capacity. The various kinds of metals that were used for currency in ancient India I had occasion to mention in my last lecture, as you will remember. They are gold, silver, copper, lead, even nickel, and such mixed metals as potin and billon. Although it is not possible, as I have just stated, to find out in what order they came to be employed for the purposes of coining. I cannot help saying that gold appears to be the earliest metal that was so used. For all references to coins in the *Saṁhitā* portion of the Vedic literature relate to gold currency only.\*\*

When metals first came to be used as a money substance, they must have been weighed in scales and then given away. The people evidently must have carried small scales and weighed with them to effect purchases as they no doubt did in Burma till even the middle of the nineteenth century. What these weights were in ancient India most of you, I believe, know. Different standards were prevalent for different metals, one for the weighing of gold, another of silver, and a third of copper. What is, however, noteworthy is that these standards start all alike from *Rati* or *Raktikā* which denotes the red seed, as *Kṛṣṇala* the black seed, of the *Guñjā* creeper.\*\*\* Al-

\* [The evidence is dubious as mentioned above.—D.C.S.]

\*\* [This is doubtful as we have already indicated above.—D.C.S.]

\*\*\* [The same seed is a little less than half black and a little more than half red.—D.C.S.]

ready in the Saṁhitā period, the word Kṛṣṇala was known to the Hindus, as it occurs in the *Taittirīya*<sup>4</sup> and other Saṁhitās. But there were other natural seeds also which were connected with the metric system, the most important of which is Māṣa, *Phaseolus Radiatus*, a pulse seed marked with black and grey spots. But there were two kinds of Māṣas. One was used in weighing gold and equalled 5 Kṛṣṇalas, and the other was employed for weighing silver and was equivalent to 2 Kṛṣṇalas only. It is possible to conceive that there were different kinds of Māṣas varying in weight and size, due to the varied influences of soil and climate, and that one kind was employed to weigh gold and the other to weigh silver.\* Raktikā or Kṛṣṇala however, was the real unit, for even the gold and silver Māṣas we find reduced to the Guṇjā seeds. The old Hindu mind, accustomed to fine analysis, was not content with stopping at Raktikā or Rati, the metric unit though it was, but has gone further and divided it into a number of submultiples—which is more or less fanciful. Thus a Raktikā, we are told, is in weight equivalent to 1296 Trasareṇu, a Trasareṇu being the smallest mote we observe in a sunbeam passing through a lattice. And between the Raktikā and the Trasareṇu have been mentioned a number of natural seeds, namely, barley-corn, white mustard-seed, black mustard-seed and poppy-seed. These are mere theoretical statements, and, in actual practice, the Raktikā was the universal standard. Appended to this lecture will be found two tables, one showing the multiples, and the other, submultiples, of the Raktikā, together with their weights in English grains.

Let me, at this stage, remind you of what I told you in my last lecture about the *rūpa* and *rūpya* classes of coins, which must have come into existence soon after, if not about the time when, metal came to be employed as money material.

<sup>4</sup> II. 3.2.1, etc.

\* [ This does not appear to have been the case.—D.C.S. ]

The words *rūpa* and *rūpya* both signify coins. As *rūpa* means 'a symbol, a figure,' *rūpya* must denote an object bearing this symbol or figure. One can, therefore, easily understand how *rūpya* can stand for coins, because coins are objects of which symbols or figures are impressed or imprinted. But why should *rūpa* denote coins at all? Were there any coins which were actual figures so that they could with propriety be called *rūpa*? I hope you remember the instance which I gave from Greek archaeology. There were two Greek colonies, where the tunny fish was the measure of value. And when metallic currency replaced this staple commodity as medium of exchange, while one colony had for its coins metallic pieces imprinted with the figure of this fish, the other had these not imprinted but actually shaped like the tunny fish. The former certainly represented the *rūpya* and the later the *rūpa* class of coinage. This example is from Greek Archaeology of the protohistoric epoch; but I also gave another example from India though of the historic period. Copper-plate charters of the Sena dynasty of Bengal constantly speak of the Kapardaka-Purāṇa. But what does this phrase mean? It cannot possibly mean a Purāṇa which was equal to one Kapardaka or cowrie. For a Purāṇa is a silver coin weighing about 58 grains, and no silver coin, weighing so much as 55 grains, can possibly be equivalent to one cowrie shell in value. The only possible sense here is that Kapardaka-Purāṇa is a silver coin weighing 58 grains and shaped like a cowrie.\* There is also another instance similar to this, known not from Indian epigraphy, but from Sanskrit literature. The word *hiranya* occurs in one of the aphorisms of Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*.<sup>5</sup> The commentator Śaṅkarārya\*\* explains this *hiranya* by *kapardaka*. Nay, the Sanskrit lexicon of Medinī gives two senses of *hiranya*, one of

\* [The suggestion seems to be wrong as already indicated above.—D.C.S.]

<sup>5</sup> VI. 5.6. I am indebted to H. C. Chakladar for this reference.

\*\* [Yas'odhara, author of the *Jayamaṅgalā*, is probably meant.—D.C.S.]



which is *śātakumbha* or gold, and the other, *varāṭa* or cowrie. How can a word, which primarily signified 'gold,' come to signify also a 'cowrie'? This cannot be taken to be an instance of the degradation of a word, for when a word is once degraded, it cannot express its original good sense side by side with its new derogatory meaning. The word *hiraṇya*, on the other hand, denotes both the senses, 'gold' and 'cowrie' in the period when Śaṅkarārya wrote or the lexicon of Medinī was composed. We have, therefore, perforce to admit that, when *kapardaka* is given as another word for *hiraṇya*, the former must be taken to signify a 'gold cowrie', i.e. a gold coin shaped like a cowrie-shell. *Hiraṇya* thus, according to Medinī, signifies *śātakumbha*, i.e. gold [bullion], and *kapardaka*, i.e. [gold] cowries.\* In my last lecture, I had occasion to tell you in this connection that both the Egyptians and the Chinese had metallic representations of cowries as coins, and that there were actually gold cowries in the case of the former. Here then we have got two clear examples from India of metallic money being fashioned like a marine product, viz. cowrie-shell, which was the medium of exchange, and this could have taken place originally only when metallic currency first sprang into existence and was replacing as far as possible all the previous measures of value. It is true that the instances I have adduced are from the mediaeval history of India; but as I have already said, forms of money originating in the early stages of civilisation are preserved down to the historical periods. There can, therefore, be nothing unreasonable in supposing that gold and silver cowries came originally to be employed only when metallic currency was introduced but survived down to much later times in some parts of India at least.\*\*

Let us now see what denominations of coins were prevalent

\*[Both *hiraṇya* and *kapardaka* appear to mean 'money' or 'coined money' here. Cf. Sircar, *Ind. Ep. Gloss.*, s.v. *hiraṇya* (p. 130) and *varāṭikā* (p. 364); also Bengali *ṭakā*, *paysā*, *kaḍī*. —D.C.S.]

\*\* [This is improbable as already indicated above. —D.C.S.]

in the Vedic period. We have seen that the *R̥gveda* speaks *hiraṇya-piṇḍa* and *Niṣka*. The former was not any regular coin, but was rather unstamped metallic bullion. The latter alone denotes a coin, and is also a coin denomination. Another denomination which is traceable in the *Saṁhitā* portion of the Vedic literature is *Śatamāna*. Reference to it occurs, as I have elsewhere told you, in the *Taittiriya Saṁhitā*. If *Śatamāna* was known in the *Saṁhitā* period; it stands to reason that it was known also in the *Brāhmaṇa* period. Thus that denomination is referred to not only in the *Taittiriya*, but also in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. What is, however, interesting in this connection to note is that, in the latter *Brāhmaṇa*, the *Śatamāna* is said to be not only of gold, but of *vṛtta*, or round, form. The same *Brāhmaṇa* speaks of a third class of coins called *Suvarṇa* which also is said to be of gold. Mention is made of a fourth denomination in the same work, I mean, *Pāda*, which I take to stand for one-fourth of the standard coin of that period. Perhaps the lowest denomination was *Kṛṣṇala*; but it is not quite certain, though very probable, that it denoted a coin.<sup>6</sup> It will thus be seen that as many as five denominations of coins were known in the Vedic period and were all of gold, namely, *Niṣka*, *Śatamāna*, *Suvarṇa*, *Pāda* and probably *Kṛṣṇala*. It is only when we come to the post-Vedic epoch that we hear of

6 In this connection, I may draw the attention of scholars to two thin pieces, one of gold and the other of silver, which were found in the *Piprawa stūpa* which is supposed to contain the remains of the Buddha and which was probably of the 6th century B. C. The pieces are impressed with symbols and cannot therefore be looked upon as merely curious specimens of gold and silver foil. They no doubt each weigh a little over one grain. But we must note that the average weight of *Kṛṣṇalaka* is 1.83 grains. May these have been intended for *Kṛṣṇalaka* coins?—an inference which agrees with the fact that coins have been found in all Buddhist *stūpas* of importance and might have been conspicuous by their absence only in the *Piprawa stūpa* if these pieces had not been regarded as coins. [Silver and gold pieces could be used in lieu of coins.—D.C.S.]

another class of coins, namely, the Kārsāpana. It is referred to along with the previous denominations not only in Pāṇini's *Sūtras*, but also in the Jātaka literature, as I told you in my third lecture. But we find them all mentioned in the *Manusmṛiti* (c. 150 B.C.)\* and the *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti* (c. 350 A.D.) which are the only two Smṛti works that specify various kinds of old metallic stamped money.

I have again and again told you that names of coins are also names of metal weights, and the importance of these Smṛtis consists in the fact that the weight of each one of these denominations can be known in the terms of *krṣṇala* or *guṇjā* berries, and can thus be compared one with the other. Information on this point is to a certain extent supplied by Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*; but it is almost nothing as compared to the detailed information given us by Manu. Of course, it is not to be expected that the condition of coinage that was prevalent in the Jātaka period or earlier was exactly the same as in the time when the *Manusmṛiti* or the *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti* was composed. Thus Manu or Yājñavalkya would make us believe that Kārsāpana was a copper coin only, whereas, as we have seen, it denoted silver and gold coinage also in the time of the Jātakas.\*\* Another point worth noting is that, according to Manu or Yājñavalkya, Śatamāna was a silver coin only, whereas, in the Brāhmaṇa period, it was also a gold coin.\*\*\* The typical silver coin, mentioned by Manu or Yājñavalkya, is Dharāṇa (also called Purāṇa by the former). But this Dharāṇa

\* [The present text of the *Manusmṛiti* does not appear to be much earlier than the third century A. D.—D.C.S.]

\*\* [The works of Manu and Yājñavalkya and some of the Jātakas were composed in the same age. It is probably not correct to say that Kārsāpana was a coin of copper only, according to Manu and Yājñavalkya. See *JAIH*, Vol. IV, p. 440, note; p. 465, note; also Reprint, Part I, pp. 34 and 59, notes.—D.C.S.]

\*\*\* [We do not agree with this view. See *JAIH*, Vol. IV, p. 456, note; Reprint, Part I, p. 51, note.—D.C.S.]

was equal to thirty Ratis or 90 White Mustard Seeds, whereas the Dharāṇa, mentioned by Kauṭilya, was equal to 88 of these Mustard Seeds.\* But the curious point here is the name Purāṇa which, as first noted by E. Thomas and Cunningham,<sup>7</sup> was looked upon as *purāṇa* or 'ancient', and must have come down to Manu's time from a hoary antiquity.

Whether these denominations of coins were all prevalent after 350 A.D., the date assigned to the *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti*, is doubtful. By the word 'denomination', I do not simply mean the 'name', but also the 'weight'. The mere name of a class of coins may survive down to a very late period, but the original denomination cannot be said to have been preserved, unless the 'weight' originally associated with the 'name' is also preserved. Let us, therefore, see how long after the middle of the fourth century A.D., the coins prevalent in the Vedic and Jātaka times persisted—how many in reality and how many in name only. Let us first take the Niṣka coins. The word *niṣka*, some of you probably know, is met with in the *Amarakoṣa* which, I think, has to be ascribed to the fifth century A.D.\*\* But, in this lexicon, we are told that Niṣka was another name for Dīnāra which, as I have already informed you, was a coin struck by the Kuṣāṇa kings in imitation of the Roman gold Denarius. Thus, the weight of a Dīnāra, as of a Denarius, was 124 grains, whereas that of a Niṣka, according to Manu, was 560 grains.\*\*\* The Niṣka of the *Amarakoṣa* could not, therefore, have been the same as the Niṣka of the *Manusmṛiti*. It will thus be seen that, in the fifth century A.D., we have merely the name Niṣka preserved, but not the original denomination.

\* [The statement is full of errors, because the Dharāṇa-Purāṇa of silver=2 Māṣas=32 Ratis, 1 Māṣa of 5 Ratis of copper or gold=90 Gaurasārṣapas and Kauṭilya's Māṣa of silver=88 Gaurasārṣapas.—D.C.S.]

<sup>7</sup> *Num. Chr.*, Vol. XIII (1873), p. 211.

\*\* [It is usually assigned to the sixth century A.D.—D.C.S.]

\*\*\* [This is on the basis of 1 Rati=1.75 grains instead of 1.83 grains which the author sometimes follows.—D.C.S.]

If this is the case with the fifth century, it must necessarily be true of the thirteenth and subsequent centuries. Thus we have got a South-Indian inscription of Śaka 1231,<sup>8</sup> where Gaṇḍamāda has been called a Niṣka. This Gaṇḍamāda has in another inscription<sup>9</sup> been explained as a *māḍai*\* or coin of Gandagopāla which clearly shows that it cannot be identical with the Niṣka of Manu. We thus perceive that the Niṣka denomination mentioned in the Vedic and the Jātaka literature and detailed in the *Manusamhitā* had really gone out of vogue long before the fifth century A.D., though the mere name Niṣka had been preserved up till the 14th century to denote other coins.\*\* Not much different was the case with Śatamāna which is another gold denomination of the periods just referred to. For, we do not find any trace of this coin in literature or in inscriptions after the beginning of the Christian era.\*\*\* No doubt, that word occurs in the *Amarakoṣa*; but there is no evidence that this lexicon is here dealing with a class of coins actually prevalent at the time of its composition. In the case of Niṣka, we have seen that the *Amarakoṣa* makes it synonymous with Dīnāra which was then in actual use. But there is no such evidence to show that by Śatamāna the *Amarakoṣa* is referring to some coin of its period. The mere occurrence of the word Śatamāna in this lexicon is, therefore, of no conse-

<sup>8</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, pp. 32 and 35, lines 4 and 28.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 131.

\* [Māḍai was the name of a coin often weighing about 40 Ratis.—D.C.S.]

\*\* [By Niṣka the following were understood in the medieval period : (1) 4 Suvarnas, (2) 5 Suvarnas, (3) 108 Suvarnas, (4) 1 Dīnāra, (5) 1 Karṣa, (6) 1 Pala of gold, (7) 320 Ratis of silver, (8) gold, and (9) an ornament for the chest. See Sircar in *Ind. Num. Chron.*, Vol. IX, pp. 3-4. Just as the Baigram plate of the 5th century speaks of 16 Rūpakas=1 Dīnāra, the 13th century work *Lālavatī* mentions 16 Drammas=1 Niṣka. See Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, 1965, p. 358; *SIC*, p. 281.—D.C.S.]

\*\*\* [Śatamāna was really the weight of 320 Ratis. It was also called Pala and is found under this name in many later records.—D.C.S.]

quence, for lexicons have to take cognizance of all words whether there are any objects corresponding to them or not. Such was not, however, the case with *Suvarṇa* which is the third denomination of gold coins. For *Suvarṇa* we find actually referred to in one Nasik cave inscription and at least one Gupta record.<sup>10</sup> In the case of the Gupta epigraph, it is no doubt possible to contend that, by *Suvarṇa*, is probably intended the *Dīnāra* which also we find mentioned in it. Just as the *Amarakoṣa* gives *Niṣka* as another word for *Dīnāra*, it may be argued that the Gupta inscriptions may have used *Suvarṇa* also synonymously with *Dīnāra*. But it is worthy of note that we have two types of Gupta gold coins, one of which conforms to the weight of the Roman *Denarius* standard and the other to that of *Manu's Suvarṇa*.<sup>11</sup> We must, therefore, suppose that *Dīnāra* and *Suvarṇa*, both of which occur in Gupta records, do not denote one identical, but two different classes of coins. What the state of things was posterior to the Gupta period we do not know. The *Suvarṇas* are no doubt mentioned in epigraphs of later periods such, e.g., as the Cambay copper-plate charter<sup>12</sup> of the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* king Govinda IV, dated 930 A. D. But we do not know whether they were of weight attributed to that denomination by *Manu*. For, soon after the Gupta period, *Suvarṇa* certainly came to be identified with *Dīnāra*, as is clear from both the *Bṛhaspati* and *Kātyāyana Smṛtis*.<sup>13</sup> I do not, however, maintain that the *Suvarṇa* of the Cambay copper-plate charter must denote *Dīnāra*, for it is very doubtful whether the old gold *Dīnāras* were current so far south and so late as the tenth century. It is quite possible that just as *Suvarṇa* denoted a *Dīnāra* in the post-Gupta period in North

10 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 82 ; Fleet, *CII*, Vol. III, p. 265.

11 Allan, *CCGD*, pp. cxxxi ff.

12 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 40, text lines 47 and 49.

13 *Bibliotheca Sanskritica*, No. 45, p. 231.

India, it may have denoted some other gold coin in Gujarat and the Deccan.\*

We have now to consider the case of Kārṣāpaṇa, and find out how long this kind of money lasted in ancient India. Let me here recapitulate a little of what I told you in Lecture III. Kārṣāpaṇa, I hope you remember, was a class of coins, usually of silver and copper and weighing one Karṣa. And as Kārṣāpaṇas have been mentioned and described both in the *Manu* and *Yājñavalkya Smṛtis*, we may take it that this type of coinage continued till at least the fourth century A. D. Quite in keeping with this inference is the fact that references to it are traceable in the West Indian cave inscriptions of the Śātavāhana period. Again, at Besnagar or ancient Vidiśā, I found punch-marked coins in all early sites containing strata reaching down to the fourth century A.D. But then, what about Kārṣāpaṇa thereafter? Here the *Bṛhaspati* and *Kātyāyana Smṛtis* come to our aid.<sup>14</sup> Both these works give Aṇḍikā as another name for Kārṣāpaṇa, and a doubt is apt to arise in our mind as to whether this Kārṣāpaṇa, which has such a strange name as Aṇḍikā, can really be the Kārṣāpaṇa of Manu and Yājñavalkya.\*\* But be it noted that Bṛhaspati describes a Kārṣāpaṇa as a stamped piece of copper which is one Karṣa in weight. I am afraid it is not possible here to doubt that, by Kārṣāpaṇa, Bṛhaspati understands precisely what Manu does. Again, look to the sub-divisions of the Kārṣāpaṇa as detailed by Kātyāyana. A Kārṣāpaṇa, says he, is equal to 20 Māṣas, and a Māṣa, which is also called Pana, is equal to 4 Kākaṇīs. In the

\* [By Dīnāra, the following were understood in the medieval period : (1) 1 Niṣka, (2) 1 Karṣa, (3) 108 Suvarṇas, (4) 1 Suvarṇa, (5) 22 Ratis of gold, (6) 1 Rūpaka, (7) 2 Karṣas of gold, and (8) 150 Suvarṇas. See Sircar in *Ind. Num. Chron.*, Vol. IX, pp. 4-5.—D.C.S.]

<sup>14</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 231.

\*\* [Some manuscripts seem to read *Trikā* or *Candrikā* for *Aṇḍikā*. See *Ind. Num. Chron.*, *op. cit.*, p. 8.—D.C.S.]

first place, the terms Māṣa and Kākaṇi employed by Kātyāyana to denote the sub-multiples of Kārṣāpaṇa are precisely the terms used in the Jātakas and for the same purpose. Secondly, the table also is practically the same. That 4 Kākiṇīs make 1 Māṣa can be known also from the Jātakas. But Kātyāyana makes a Kārṣāpaṇa equivalent to 20 Māṣas, where as Manu makes it equivalent to 16 Māṣas. You may thus imagine a discrepancy here ; but in Lecture III, I told you that one Jātaka led us practically to infer that a Kārṣāpaṇa equalled not 16 but 20 Māṣas,<sup>15</sup> and that, what was still more important, a Pāda, according to the commentary on the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, was equal to 5 Māṣas, that is to say, a Kārṣāpaṇa equalled 20 Māṣas, at Rājagṛha in the time of Bimbisāra. The tradition of the Kārṣāpaṇa and its token money prevalent in the early Buddhist period was thus preserved so late as the 6th or 7th century A.D. as we find from Kātyāyana. No reasonable doubt can therefore be entertained as to Kārṣāpaṇa having continued to circulate up to the 7th century. But then two points here deserve to be noticed. The first is that the Kārṣāpaṇa described by Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana denotes a copper coin only. This is exactly in consonance with what Manu says.\* In ancient times, however, Kārṣāpaṇa denoted not only copper, but also silver money. Is there any evidence, you may now ask, to show whether silver Kārṣāpaṇa also was known in the mediaeval period ? I may, therefore, draw your attention to the statement of Nārada that silver Kārṣāpaṇa was current in South India.<sup>16</sup> And we no doubt find that the references to Kārṣāpaṇa in the West Indian cave inscriptions are all to silver Kārṣāpaṇa. Secondly, if the Kārṣāpaṇa was certainly prevalent till the 7th century A.D., it could not have been represented at all periods by the punch-marked coins alone. There must have

<sup>15</sup> [ See Lecture III above, original ed., pp. 111-12 ; *JAIH*, Vol. IV, p. 486 ; Reprint, Part I, p. 80.—D.C.S ]

\* [ We are not sure about this.—D.C.S ]

<sup>16</sup> *Bibliotheca Sanskritica*, No. 45, p. 232.



been some other types of coins which also were looked upon as Kārṣāpaṇas.\* For no punch-marked coins later than the 4th century A. D., have been found so that, between the 4th and the 7th century at any rate, there must have been some type or types other than the punch-marked which were known as Kārṣāpaṇa. Our history of the Kārṣāpaṇa coinage is not yet over, for we have yet to consider the question whether Kārṣāpaṇa was in any form known after the seventh century. An inscription originally found at Bijāpur<sup>17</sup> in the Goḍwār Division of the Jodhpur State and dated 997 A.D., while recording the benefactions to a Jaina temple, speaks of a grant of one Karṣa for every *ghaḍā* at every local oil-mill. As in the specification of similar grants in this connection the words Rūpaka and Viṃśopaka occur which denote coined money, it is difficult to avoid the inference that here Karṣa stands for a copper Kārṣāpaṇa.\*\* Similarly, the Gayā stone inscription of the Pāla king, Govindapāla,<sup>18</sup> dated Vikrama 1232 (1175 A.D.), makes mention of Kārṣāpaṇī. It is not quite clear from the inscription whether this was a silver or copper Kārṣāpaṇa, though there is a greater likelihood in favour of the latter supposition. Of course, as, in the Bijāpur inscription, Kārṣāpaṇa is denoted by the term *karṣa* which is primarily the name of a weight, it must be taken as identical with the Kārṣāpaṇa of Manu. But from the Gayā inscription itself, it is not possible to assert definitely that Kārṣāpaṇī denoted the original Kārṣāpaṇa denomination. It deserves, however, to be noted that such a word as Kāhan, which is evidently the modern form of Sanskrit Kārṣāpaṇa

\* [The silver coins of the Śakas of Western India were called Kārṣāpaṇa. Cf. Rudradāma-kāṣāpaṇa.—D.C.S.]

17 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, 24 and 26-27. [Now 'Jodhpur State' is 'Jodhpur Division' of Rajasthan.—D.C.S.]

\*\* [The grant refers probably to oil measuring one Karṣa or Tolā per *ghaḍā* of oil.—Ed.]

18 R. D. Banerji, *Palas of Bengal*, p. 109.

has been preserved to this day in Bengal,<sup>19</sup> and that this Kāhan is valued at 16 Paṇas which, as I have already told you, are the same thing as 16 Māṣas. Every probability is, therefore, in favour of regarding the Kārṣāpaṇī of the Gayā inscription as standing for the Kārṣāpaṇa of the old metric system.\*

Now just one or two points before closing this history of the Kārṣāpaṇa coinage. I have already stated on the authority of Kātyāyana that Māṣa, also known as Paṇa, was not one-sixteenth but one-twentieth part of Kārṣāpaṇa.\*\* Our epigraphists need not be told that there is such a coin as Viṃśopaka mentioned in inscriptions of the mediaeval period and found in such regions as Rajasthan, Central India and the Deccan.<sup>20</sup> Numismatists have no doubt been telling us that it is the one-twentieth part of some coin. But all this is vague information. Had we not rather say that it denoted the Paṇa or Māṣa coin which forms one-twentieth part of Kārṣāpaṇa ?\*\*\*

Let me, again, draw your attention to what Bṛhaspati has said about Suvarṇa and Kārṣāpaṇa. As I have told you, he identifies Suvarṇa with Dīnāra which, we know, weighs 124 grains, and takes Kārṣāpaṇa to be a copper coin weighing one Karṣa or 146.4 grains. Let us now see what metric connection he establishes between Kārṣāpaṇa and Suvarṇa. According to him, 4 Kārṣāpaṇas or Aṇḍakas make 1 Dhānaka, and 12 Dhā-

<sup>19</sup> Cunningham, *CAI*, p. 43.

\* [The Śaka-type Kārṣāpaṇas, which were popular in various parts of India till late times, were known generally by the names Purāṇa, Dharāṇa, Rūpaka, Dramma, Cūrṇī, etc. It is the Kāhan of Bengal.—D.C.S.]

\*\* [By Māṣa, the following were understood in the medieval period : (1) 5 Ratis of gold or copper, (2) 2 Ratis of silver, (3) 88 Gaurasarṣapās, (4)  $\frac{1}{10}$  of Kārṣāpaṇa, (5)  $\frac{1}{20}$  of Paṇa, (6)  $\frac{1}{4}$  of Kārṣāpaṇa, (7)  $\frac{1}{80}$  of Purāṇa, and (8) 4 Kākinīs. See Sircar in *Ind. Num. Chron.*, Vol. IX, pp. 6-7.—D.C.S.]

<sup>20</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 174, 176 ; Vol. II, pp. 124, 240 ; Vol. III, p. 267 ; Vol. X, p. 19 ; Vol. XI, pp. 41, 56.

\*\*\* [Viṣṇuṣeṇa's charter shows clearly that the Viṃśopaka was  $\frac{1}{20}$  of the coin called by the names Rūpaka, etc.—D.C.S.]

nakas make 1 Suvarṇa or Dīnāra. The same table is given by Kātyāyana also. The ratio of gold to copper in the early mediaeval period, that is, when Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana wrote, may be expressed thus :  $146.4 \times 4 \times 12 : 124 = 56.7 : 1$ . And the rate of exchange between the copper Kārṣāpaṇa and the gold Dīnāra was 48 : 1. The present ratio between copper and gold is something like 1000 : 1. This, no doubt, shows that copper in early times had comparatively much greater value than it possesses at present, almost twenty times of what it has now. Perhaps this calculation may not at once convince you. But let me tell you that, in the provinces where Dīnāra was current, no silver coinage was in existence—I mean, in the dominions of the Kuṣāṇas and their successors, the Guptas.\* From the economic point of view, such a thing would not have been possible, if copper had not been of such high value at that period as to dispense with the necessity of any silver coinage.

That copper was of much higher value in ancient India than at present is evident in another way also. In Lecture III, I informed you that, in some places, such as Vidiśā, there was nothing but copper currency only. How is this possible except on the supposition that copper possessed much greater value than now? For what was then the standard money at Vidiśā? It was the copper Kārṣāpaṇa, as I told you. Kārṣāpaṇa, we know, contained sixteen Māṣas or Paṇas, and each Paṇa, according to the *Lilāvati*, was valued at 80 cowries. Again, a Kārṣāpaṇa, we know, was equal to 80 Ratis or Guṇjās in weight. Here then we have got a standard copper coin, namely, Kārṣāpaṇa, which is 80 Guṇjās in weight, and is, in value, equal to  $80 \times 16 = 1280$  cowries. Take now the modern Pice which weighs 48 Guṇjās.\*\* Its value in cowries, however, differs in different provinces. But let us take the highest value

\* [ This is wrong in the case of the Guptas.—D.C.S. ]

\*\* [ Then 4 copper Pice made one nickel Anna, 16 of which made 1 silver Rupee.—D.C.S. ]

it had in modern times, viz. 64 cowries in Maharashtra. A Kārṣāpaṇa thus becomes equivalent to 20 modern Pice, that is, five Annas, although its weight is not even double that of a Pice ! Perhaps you may now say : granted that copper had much higher value than at present as no doubt this calculation shows ; but how can any town or province have the highest denomination of coins which equals only five Annas ? And I may, therefore, tell you that, in Kutch to this day, the highest denomination known as Kori is about 4 Annas only in worth !

A short while ago, I drew your attention to certain information contained in the later Smṛtis, which enables us to fix the ratio between gold and copper. You may now be curious to know whether we have any data to determine the ratio between gold and silver at any period in ancient India. While giving the history of the Suvarṇa coinage posterior to the time of Manu, I had occasion to tell you that there is one Nasik cave inscription,<sup>21</sup> which contains a reference to this denomination. We are there informed of a certain grant of 70,000 Kārṣāpaṇas, which, we are expressly told, were equal to 2,000 Suvarṇas, at the rate of 35 [silver] Kārṣāpaṇas to 1 Suvarṇa. All these items of information have been given in so many words, leaving no scope at all for any surmise. Of course, the Kārṣāpaṇas here referred to are the silver coins of that name. The weight of a silver Kārṣāpaṇa or Purāṇa, we know, is 58.5 and that of Suvarṇa is 146.4 grains. And as the exchange rate between Kārṣāpaṇa and Suvarṇa was 35 : 1, we get the following calculation :  $58.5 \times 35 : 146.4 = 14 : 1$  approximately. The ratio of gold to silver was thus 14 : 1 in the second century A. D.<sup>22</sup> which comes very nearly to that of the modern times.

21 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol, VIII, p. 82.

22 This practically agrees with the ratio (15 : 1) mentioned by the Marāṭhī poet, Jñāneśvar, as being current in Maharashtra in this time, i.e. in

So much about the denominations of coins, their weights, and their persistence to the late mediaeval period. But what did the coins of the Jātakas, if not of the Vedic period, look like? In other words, how were their obverse and reverse? This is the question that you are sure to ask me now, and I shall therefore attempt to give a reply which appears most likely to me. Of course, we shall first have to turn our attention to the Kārṣāpaṇas. I have already told you what sort of devices are to be found on these coins. I have also told you that in the earlier class, these devices occur in a haphazard unconnected manner, but that, in their later development, they appear in definite and constant groups, though each symbol is stamped with a separate punch. A further development on this class is marked by coins where these constant and regular groups are impressed on them with a single die and not with different punches. I have only to refer you to the coins of the Gaṇas, such as Mālava and Yaudheya, of the Janapadas,\* such as Śibi and Rājanya, of such royal dynasties as the Śātavāhanas, and of such countries as those of Mathurā and Pañcāla. All the coins, native to these provinces and peoples and ranging in date roughly from the 3rd century B.C. to the 3rd century A.D., are characterized with a collection of symbols forming one distinct type and struck from a single die. As all the symbols occurring on these coins are such as are commonly found on the Kārṣāpaṇas, no reasonable doubt can be entertained as to their constituting indigenous money. Of course, not a

the thirteenth century A.D. [The Kārṣāpaṇa of the inscription may be the Śaka silver coin of about 20 Ratis and the Suvarṇa no other than the Kuṣāṇa gold coin of about 68 Ratis. The ratio was thus about 10.26 : 1. According to mediaeval authorities, the ratio between gold and copper was 1 : 48 (?), between gold and silver 1 : 17.5, and between silver and copper 1 : 40. See *Ind. Num. Chron.*, pp. 5-6.—D.C.S.]

\* [There is no strong reason to take *janapada* to signify a kind of republic.—D.C.S.]

few of them are of round shape ; but this need not be looked-upon as betokening foreign—Greek—influence. For even some Kārṣāpaṇas have been found to be of circular form, and, as you will remember, the Śatamāṇas have been called *ṛtta* or round in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. It is not, therefore, permissible to have any reasonable doubt in regard to the indigenous character of these coins. Obviously this class of money has been evolved from the Kārṣāpaṇa. When exactly this development took place is not known. It is true that the Kārṣāpaṇas are traceable to the prehistoric period.\* But because they have come down from this hoary antiquity, it does not necessarily prove that its latest development represented by the coins just adverted to must also have taken place at that early period. Those coins, I have just informed you, belong to a period ranging from between 300 B.C. and 300 A.D. And we shall not be far from right if we assign this latest evolution of the indigenous money to the 5th or 6th century B.C. The circulation of these coins side by side with the Kārṣāpaṇas need not distract us. For, at the beginning of this lecture, I have iterated and re-iterated that forms of currency originating at different stages of civilisation were prevalent side by side in a comparatively modern epoch. We thus get a pretty fair idea of the appearance that must have been presented by indigenous coins in the Jātaka period.\*\*

Of course, the Kārṣāpaṇa type too must have its history of evolution, and it does not seem very difficult to surmise the steps in which it came to evolve itself. Kārṣāpaṇa, you know, is a coin of various shapes, such as rectangular, circular, elongated and even irregular, and is impressed with devices of various kinds. Nobody, therefore, can doubt Kārṣāpaṇa as denoting a distinct coinage. The earliest stage of coinage in

\* [The earliest use of the name Kārṣāpaṇa has been traced in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, V. 1.29 (*vibhāṣā Kārṣāpaṇa-sahasrābhyām*).—D.C.S.]

\*\* [There was really no 'Jātaka period'.—D.C.S.]

India is represented by *hiraṇya-piṇḍas* or unstamped buttons of metal passing for currency. The *hiraṇya-piṇḍas* must have conformed to a definite size and weight. But where was the guarantee of purity of their metal or of their definite value? A time must, therefore, have come when it was thought necessary to relieve men of the trouble of testing their quality, and therefore, the natural step of setting a stamp on every coin to guarantee fineness of metal is easy to conceive. Coins pertaining to this stage of monetary development are represented, I think, by solid silver ingots with three circular dots on one side and also silver bent bars with one or two symbols on one face only such as we find described by V. A. Smith in his *Catalogue*. This stamp evidently must have acted as a kind of hall-mark. The further development of this coinage to a full-fledged *Kārṣāpaṇa* it is easy to surmise. The devices must have soon come to be multiplied indefinitely and not one face but both the faces of the coin must gradually have come to be stamped with these, the reverse symbol in most cases representing the badge of the controlling authority. Steps must also have been taken for the establishment of a regular shape to prevent any tampering with the coin after its manufacture. And this is the reason probably why we see *Kārṣāpaṇas* of so many shapes which appear to me to be so many experiments in form.\* It is possible further to conceive that the devices were first punched on the obverse in a haphazard fashion, but were afterwards impressed in regular and constant groups, as I have told you so many times, to indicate the provenance of the coin. The further development of the *Kārṣāpaṇa* into a regular and distinct coin type struck from a die I have already dilated upon, and so scarcely requires any repetition here.

You will thus see in what successive stages the coinage of ancient India most probably evolved itself and what actual

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\* [ It is difficult to agree with this view.—D.C.S.]

type was prevalent in the fifth or sixth century B.C. This last, as I have told you, is the one perceptible in the indigenous money of the Gaṇas, Janapadas, royal dynasties, and such provinces as Mathurā and Pañcāla. This date does not seem to be too early. For you have only to take into consideration some of the earliest coins of this type. Take, for instance, the coin which bears the legend *Vaṭasvaka* and which, according to Cunningham, is anterior to the Greek conquest of Alexander, but which, Bühler thinks it safe to say, is anterior to the Greek conquest of Demetrius.<sup>23</sup> What do we find on the obverse of this coin, which alone is stamped? We find not only the legend in Brāhmī characters, but a hill symbol with a standing figure to right, beneath which is a sign called Nandipada. There is also a pile of balls or dots beneath the hill. It is scarcely necessary for me to remark that all these symbols are found on Kārṣāpaṇa coins. But the point to note here is that all these devices form one type and have been struck with a single die. And if this *Vaṭasvaka* coin belongs to the third century B. C.,\* at the latest, there is nothing irrational in pushing the origin of such a type back to the fifth or sixth century.

The type of coins which has been described is, as I have informed you, evolved from the Kārṣāpaṇa. But you will naturally want to know whether there was any other type prevalent in this early period. It is, therefore, necessary to invite your attention to some more coins. I hope you have not forgotten the coins of the autonomous cities of the Punjab to which I referred in my first lecture. On the obverse occurs the word *negamā*, and on the reverse, such names as *Dojaka*, *Tālimata* and *Atakatakā*.<sup>24</sup> I had then occasion to tell you

<sup>23</sup> *Ind. Stud.*, No. III, p. 48.

\* [ May be later.—D.C.S.]

<sup>24</sup> *Carm. Lect.*, 1918, pp. 75-76.



that the word *negamā* here must be taken to signify 'the city people' and that the letters occurring on the reverse must be understood to be the names of the cities. What is noteworthy here is that on neither of the faces of these coins occurs anything but the legend. They are conspicuous by the absence of any kind of symbols, such as we are accustomed to note on the *Kārṣāpaṇa*. It thus appears that in that early period, some coins were struck with mere names unaccompanied by any devices. If further evidence is required, it is supplied by a coin found at Eran in the Central Provinces.\* On this coin only one legend occurs and on one face only, the legend consisting of the letters *Raño Dhammapālasa* in very ancient Brāhmī characters.<sup>25</sup> And as these characters run from right to left, Bühler thinks that they could not have been later than the fifth century B.C.<sup>26</sup> This coin is thus earlier than those of the autonomous cities of the Punjab, and, as we have just seen, is devoid of all devices, and has been found in one of the Eastern Provinces of India. It will not, therefore, be unreasonable if we infer that another type of coinage which was prevalent at this early period and which was in no way influenced by the *Kārṣāpaṇa* consisted of mere legends stamped on one or both sides.

So far in regard to the denominations of coins indigenous to India, that is to say, those handed down from the Vedic and the pre-Buddhistic period. Let me now say a few words on the new designations of monetary value that sprang up after the Greek domination of North-West India. It is not my object here to give a history of the coinages of these foreign dynasties, or those of even Indian dynasties influenced by theirs. So much has already been written upon the coins of the Indo-

<sup>25</sup> Rapson, *Anc. Ind.*, p. 151.

<sup>26</sup> *Ind. Stud.*, No. III, pp. 44-47. [The peculiarity of the writing is due to a defect in the die. Really the coin is centuries later.—D.C.S.]

\*[Now—Madhya Pradesh which is no 'Eastern Province of India'.—D.C.S.]

Bactrian Greek, Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian dynasties, and their Indian successors, the Guptas and others, that there is hardly anything new for me to tell. I will, therefore, confine myself here, briefly of course, to the new denominations that arose, that is to say, the denominations unknown to Manu and Yājñavalkya. It is curious that, in spite of the fact that the Indo-Bactrian Greeks had their own coinage struck according to the Attic Standard, names technical to Hellenic metrology were unknown to India up till the second century A.D., when, as I have told you already, their power must have become extinct. It is when the Kuṣānas rise to power that we find not one but two new denominations springing up. The first is Kuṣāna,<sup>27</sup> which occurs in a Nasik cave inscription, recording a grant of Uṣavadāta, son-in-law of the Kṣatrapa Nahapāna, who ruled over South Rajasthan, Gujarat and the Northern Deccan about the close of the first and the beginning of the second century A.D. Uṣavadāta, we are told, deposited a sum of 1000 Kārṣāpaṇas, at the monthly rate  $\frac{3}{4}$  per cent, and yielding, therefore, an annual interest of 90 Kārṣāpaṇas. This amount of 90 Kārṣāpaṇas, the inscription says, was the Kuṣānamūla, i.e. the value of Kuṣāṇas. Looking, however, to the similar phraseology used in other cave inscriptions of this period, I have shown elsewhere that Kuṣāṇa of this must correspond to *Paḍika* (*Pratika*) of other cave epigraphs, and must denote a specific coin. And I have further ventured to express the view that Kuṣāṇa in particular denotes the silver coinage of Nahapāna, and was so called, because he issued it for his Kuṣāṇa or Kuṣāṇa overlord who must have been Kadphises I. I have just told you that Uṣavadāta deposited a sum of 1000 Kārṣāpaṇas in a guild which annually yielded 90 Kārṣāpaṇas by way of interest. The inscription was engraved in Uṣavadāta's cave which accommodated 20 monks and where each of them was

27 *Ind. Ant.*, 1918, pp. 76ff.

to be given a Kuṣāṇa for every one of the four months of the rainy season. Evidently, therefore, 80 Kuṣāṇas were required every year, and had to be obtained with the 90 Kārṣāpaṇas, the annual interest just referred to. We thus see that 80 Kuṣāṇas were equivalent to 90 Kārṣāpaṇas, or, in other words, the rate of exchange between these two classes of coins was 8 : 9.\*

The next designation of monetary value that we have to consider is Dīnāra. I have again and again told you that it was the name of the gold coins introduced by the Kuṣāṇa kings and continued by the Gupta monarchs and that Dīnāra was so called after the Roman Denarius. There were, however, two kinds of Denarius, viz. gold and silver, and it was the former, that is Denarius aureus of about 122 grains,\*\* that was adopted by the Kuṣāṇa rulers for their gold coins. It was for this reason that only the gold coins of the Kuṣāṇas and the Guptas are designated Dīnāra, no silver Dīnāras being yet known.\*\*\* Now, the question here arises : why did the Kuṣāṇas adopt the Roman standard of weight for their coins ? Does it not indicate that there was brisk trade going on between Rome and India ? Of course, this trade had begun long prior to the reign of Augustus, for do we not know that silver Denarii of the Consular period have been found in the *Stūpas* on the north-west frontiers of India ?<sup>28</sup> It is worthy of note that

\* [We understand *kusanamula* as *kṛś-āṇṇa-mūlya* = *a-mukhy-āhāra-mūlya*, 'cost of subsidiary food', so that *kuṣāṇa* is opposed to *mukhy-āhāra* = *mukhy-āhāra*, 'principal food', of another Nasik record of Uṣavadāta. See *Sel. Ins.*, 1965, pp. 165, 169. The suggested ratio is doubtful. Very few silver coins of Kadphises I and II have so far been discovered. The weight of one such is 56.5 grains, i.e. lesser than that of the silver Kārṣāpaṇa of 58.56 grains.—D.C.S.]

\*\* [Better—124 grains.—D.C.S.]

\*\*\* [The Kuṣāṇas did not have any extensive silver coinage.—D.C.S.]

<sup>28</sup> The greater portion of the information given here is based upon Sewell's article on Roman Coins found in India (*JRAS*, 1904, pp. 591ff.).

Roman coins have been found in India in abundance and that they are generally found in two regions, namely, (1) in the north-west, and (2) in and near the Coimbatore District and at Madura in the Madras Presidency.\* Those picked up in South India pertain to the period commencing with Augustus and ending with the death of Nero, that is, from 27 B.C. to 68 A. D. Hoards of Roman coins belonging to this period are reported to have been discovered in this region. It is not difficult to find out the cause of it. Pliny, writing about 70 A.D., laments the wasteful extravagance of the richer classes and their reckless expenditure on spices, pepper, perfumes, ivory, fine muslins, cotton and precious stones, such as the beryl. Most of these exports to Rome, I need scarcely point out, are products of South India. And, in particular, I may draw your attention to the beryl stone which was most highly prized in Rome. This beryl is found in India in one place only, namely, Padyur in the Coimbatore District. And, curiously enough, it is in the neighbourhood of its mines that the largest number of Roman coins of this period have been found. With the reign of Vespasian, things seem to have changed. For what with his exemplary life and what with enactments, he succeeded largely in suppressing the wanton extravagance and profligacy of the age. And the tides probably turned against India. For it was in the period beginning with the death of Nero (68 A.D.) and ending with Caracalla (217 A.D.), that we see not only the issues of gold coinage by the Kuṣāṇas, but, above all, their adoption of the Roman standard of weight. Cunningham, V.A. Smith and Rapson concur in the belief that the Kuṣāṇa kings recoinced the Roman aurei. This means that they got hold of

[See however, 'Roman Coins, first century B.C. to fourth century A.D., found in India and Ceylon' in *Ancient India*, No. 2, July, 1946, pp. 116-21; also P. L. Gupta, 'Roman Coins from Andhra Pradesh', in *A. P. Govt. Mus. Ser.*, No. 10, Hyderabad, 1965, pp. 41-45.—D.C.S.]

\* [ Now—Tamilnadu.—D.C.S. ]

all Roman gold coins, melted them down in a mass, and issued their own coins of precisely the same weight. The supposition however, does not commend itself to me. For, in the first instance, I cannot understand why all the Roman coins, the gold and not the copper, were so treated. Secondly, if the Kuṣāṇa coins are nothing but the Roman coins melted and restruck, the latter must have come to India in proportionately huge quantities. As a matter of fact, however, the Roman copper coins are conspicuous by their paucity. Thirdly, if the Kuṣāṇa rulers melted the Roman gold coins, why did they strike new coins of their own of exactly the same weight as the Roman? I am inclined to believe that the Kuṣāṇa kings adopted the Roman standard of weight to facilitate trade, as the Roman coin was accepted almost all over the world at this time. But the fact that very few Roman gold coins of this period have been found in North India shows that the trade was against India, that is to say, the exports from the Roman empire preponderated over those from India. Evidently, therefore, the Kuṣāṇa gold coins must, on the contrary, have been imported into the Roman Empire. It is scarcely necessary to remind you that coins of Kanīṣka have been dug up in such remotest parts of Europe as Scandinavia and Wales,<sup>29</sup> and I have no doubt that more Kuṣāṇa coins will be found in Europe and West Asia when we excavate sites of this period.

How long the Dīnāra denomination lasted in India we do not know. Certainly it continued to circulate till the early medieval period, that is, the seventh century A. D., when the *Bṛhaspati* and *Kātyāyana Smṛtis* were compiled. For we have already seen that these law books make specific mention of Dīnāra as a synonym of Suvarṇa.\* Of about the same age is

<sup>29</sup> *JRAS*, 1912, p. 672. [A hoard of Kuṣāṇa coins was discovered at Dabra Damo in Abyssinia. See *JNSI*, Vol. XXIX, Part II, 1967, pp. 19ff. —D.C.S.]

\* [Dīnāra is also mentioned in other works of even later date.—D.C.S.]

an inscription at Bodhgayā, which speaks of the plastering and whitewashing of the temple at the cost of 250 Dīnāras. For the reason adduced by T. Bloch, the well-known gold coins of Gupta mintage are meant here by Dīnāra.<sup>30</sup> In the late mediaeval period, however, the word was used in the sense of 'coined money' or 'cash'. It thus ceased to be the designation of any particular monetary value. The *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, e.g., which has to be ascribed to the 11th\* century A.D., speaks of Dīnāras of gold, silver and copper.<sup>31</sup> Dīnāras are also mentioned not only in round hundreds and thousands, but also lakhs and crores, so as to make it manifestly impossible for Dīnāra to be any gold or even silver coin.\*\*

Another designation of coined money of a somewhat later period than Dīnāra is Kedāra. In my Lecture IV, I hope you remember, I had occasion to quote a passage from the *Kāśikā* which speaks of Dīnāra, Kedāra and Kārṣāpaṇa as rūpya or coined money. Of course, you know what coins are denoted by Dīnāra and Kārṣāpaṇa. But what is a Kedāra? This question, I am sure, you will ask me here. I am afraid I cannot give any reply that is positively convincing. But let me here draw your attention to the coins of the Kidāra-Kuṣāṇas. These coins have been found in Kashmir and some parts of Gandhāra and the Kidāra-Kuṣāṇas themselves are supposed to have held power from 425 to 900 A.D. What deserves to be noticed here is that all the coins have the name Kidāra on the obverse. This Kidāra has been identified by Cunningham with Ki-to-lo, the leader of the great Yueh-tei, known from Chinese sources.<sup>32</sup> What the real significance of Kidāra is we do not definitely know. But this appears to be almost certain that the Kedāra

\* [ 12th.—D.C.S. ]

30 *ASI—AR*, 1908-09, pp. 153-54.

31 Stein, *Kaṭhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Vol. II, pp. 308-09.

\*\* [ The *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* uses the word also in the sense of 'a cowrie-shell'. —D.C.S. ]

32 *Ibid*, Vol. II, pp. 319-20 ; *IC*, pp. 19-20.

of the *Kaśika* is to be connected with the Kidāra of the Little Kuṣāṇa coins. Most probably the Kedāra coin was called after this Kidāra dynasty.

We now come to the denomination *Dramma* which was prevalent all over North India up to the Narmadā in the late mediaeval period, that is, from the ninth to the thirteenth century A.D.\* The earliest record, where this word has been traced, is the Gwalior inscription of Bhojadeva of the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty and dated 875 A.D.<sup>33</sup> Obviously the word *Dramma* has to be traced to the Greek *Drachma*. But it is curious that although the Greeks ruled over North-West India from 200 B.C. to 200 A.D., the word is not to be found in any literary or epigraphic record of that period. It is really not till the middle of the ninth century that we hear of this word at all. This clearly shows that the influence of the Indo-Bactrian Greeks over Indian political and economic life was not very deep. How then did the word *Dramma* arise, and, above all, in the late mediaeval period? The explanation of it has to be found, I think, in the invasion of the Gurjaras who appear to have strongly imbibed the Sassanian civilisation, though perhaps not ethnologically connected with them. The *Drachma* of the Greeks was prevalent in Iran till the Sassanian period, and the Gurjaras, who poured into India in the 6th or 7th century A.D., must evidently have come from there. What are called the Indo-Sassanian coins by the numismatists were, in my opinion, the earliest issues of these Gur-

\*[*Dramma* is also mentioned in South India, e.g., in Bhāskara's *Lilāvati* composed in Maharashtra in the twelfth century A.D.—D.C.S.]

33 The views expressed in regard to the denomination of *Dramma* were first made known by me to the Ancient Indian Numismatics class of the Calcutta University in 1919. And it is particularly gratifying to find almost the same views expressed by such a veteran numismatist as Rapson before the joint session of Orientalists in London (*JRAS*, 1920, pp. 151-52.). [See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 154 ff. Allan, *Cat. (A.I.)*, p. 275, No. 77. There is no proof of Greek rule about 200 A.D.—D.C.S.]

jaras. I have elsewhere shown how far the Gurjara territory might have extended. Certainly it had spread as far east as Bengal and as far south as the Narmadā. And the Sassanian characteristics, which are clear and indisputable on their early issues, can be traced on all coins, gold, silver and copper, up to almost the thirteenth century A.D., though the original fabric and type gradually change.\*

The weight of a Dramma has been found to approximate to 65 grains.\*\* Indeed, there are Drammas which weigh even less than 60 grains. This diminution of weight may be explained exactly in the manner in which we explained divergence of weight in the case of Kārṣāpaṇa. It is, therefore, quite correct to say that the standard weight of Dramma comes to 65 grains, whereas the Greek Drachma weighs only 66 grains. The difference is so insignificant that it may be safely neglected. It was this standard of weight, according to which gold, silver and copper coins were struck. The name Dramma was, however, restricted to the silver class only, the copper class being generally known as Gadhaiyā-kā-paisā. Various rulers of this period issued Drammas which are therefore named after them. We have thus Śrīmad-Ādivarāha-dramma called after Bhoja Ādivarāha of the Pratīhāra dynasty,<sup>34</sup> Vighrahapāliya-dramma (also Vighrahatuṅgiya-dramma) supposed to be named after Vighrahapāla of the Pāla dynasty,<sup>35</sup> and Ajayadeva-dramma struck by Ajayadeva,<sup>36</sup> the Cauhan king, who

\* [The suggestion is unconvincing because the Dramma (also called Dharāṇa, Purāṇa, Kārṣāpaṇa and Cūrṇa) had the modified Graeco-Indian weight standard of about 20 Ratis, adopted by the West Indian Śakas, the Guptas and other later ruling families.—D.C.S.]

\*\* [This is the old Greek standard. There are Indo-Greek coins of weight based on the 20 Rati standard also.—D.C.S.]

34 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 175, line 27 ; p. 178, line 11.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 174, line 13 ; p. 175, line 28 ; p. 176, line 14, and p. 177, line 10 ; Cunningham's *ASR*, Vol. XI, pp. 175, 181 ; *CMI*, pp. 51-52.

36 *Ind. Ant.*, 1912, p. 209.



founded the city of Ajmer in Rajasthan. Of course, there were other kinds of Drammas which apparently were not connected with the name of any king. Such, e.g., is the Pañciyaka-dramma, which is mentioned in the Siyadoni inscriptions.<sup>37</sup> What the meaning of the word *Pañciyaka* is we cannot for certain say. Possibly it denoted the coinage struck by the local Pañcāyat. What, however, we are here concerned with is that the denomination Dramma, which denoted a silver coin and was in imitation of the Sassanian coinage, was prevalent in India in the mediaeval period. Of the same period are copper coins which are commonly known as Gadhaiyā-kā-paisā. That they also are imitations of the Sassanian originals is indisputable. And the only names that have so far been traced on them are Śrī-Chittarāja<sup>38</sup> who has been identified with the Chittarāja of the Śilāhāra dynasty of Thānā, and Śrī-Somala-devī,<sup>39</sup> queen of the Cauhān king Ajayadeva. Gold coins of the same weight standard were issued by some royal dynasties of the mediaeval period such as the Kalacuris, the Candellas, the Gahadavālas and so forth. How they were exactly designated in that period we do not know. But there is an inscription in a Kanheri cave of the time of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, Amoghavarṣa,<sup>40</sup> speaking of Kāñcana-Drammas, which must, I think, stand for these gold coins. I have already mentioned that, in the Cambay copper-plate charter of Govinda IV, Suvarṇas have been referred to. In inscriptions and literature of this period, we find mention also of Niṣkas. It appears that both Suvarṇa and Niṣka denoted Kāñcana-Dramma during the mediaeval period. How the copper coins of this weight standard

37 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 173, line 23 ; p. 178, line 12.

38 *JRAS*, 1900, pp. 118, 122.

39 *Ind. Ant.*, 1912, p. 211.

40 *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 136. [The reading of the name Kāñcana-Dramma has been challenged now.—D.C.S.]

were designated at that time we do not know. In modern parlance, they are called Gadhaiyā-ka-paisā, as I have just told you.

What about the sub-divisions of this Dramma denomination? Were any known at this period? I have in this connection to refer you to the Siyadoni inscriptions, which speak of no less than two such subdivisions, namely, Pāda and Viṃśopaka. Thus we find mentioned Pañciyaka-dramma-satka-pāda and Śrīmad-Ādivarāha-drammasya Pāda<sup>41</sup> on the one hand, and Varāhakīya-viṃśopaka, Vighraha-dramma-viṃśopaka and Bhīmapriya-Viṃśopaka<sup>42</sup> on the other. Of course, Pāda must denote here one-fourth of the Dramma by whomsoever it was struck, and Viṃśopaka one-twentieth part thereof. What is worthy of note is that both denote specific coins. As a matter of fact, we do find coins of the mediaeval dynasties which are one-fourth, as there are some which are one-half, of the weight of the Dramma. The first class is evidently intended here by the designation Pāda. There is, however, no silver or gold coin which is one-twentieth part of the weight. I, therefore, suspect that Viṃśopaka signifies a copper piece which is one-twentieth part in value of the original Dramma. If this surmise is a likely one, we have to suppose that Viṃśopaka denotes a Paṇa or Māṣa according, however, to the table of Kātyāyana which makes a Māṣa or Paṇa as one-twentieth part of Kārṣāpaṇa in value. The Kārṣāpaṇa of this table must evidently stand for a silver coin, and is probably another name for Dramma. This class of Kārṣāpaṇa, as Kātyāyana tells us, was prevalent in the Punjab, and we may take it also in Rajasthan and Gujarat, and must in no way be confounded with the copper Kārṣāpaṇa mentioned by Kātyāyana immediately after-

41 *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 136.

42 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 173, line 23 ; p. 178, line 11.

43 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 174, line 10 ; p. 176, line 24 ; Vol. XI, p. 59.

wards as a synonym for Aṇḍikā\* and as being one-fourth of Dhānaka.<sup>44</sup>

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\* [This is called Aṇḍaka above ; but Aṇḍikā is better.—D.C.S.]

<sup>44</sup> *Bibliotheca Sanskritica*, No. 45, p. 231 ; compare this with the quotation from Kātyāyana given by Hemādri in his *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* (Bib. Ind. ed.), Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 55.

ANCIENT INDIAN WEIGHTS FROM MANU AND YĀJÑAVALKYA

Table No. 1

*Silver*

|               |     |         |        |            |          |  |
|---------------|-----|---------|--------|------------|----------|--|
| <i>Grains</i> |     |         |        |            |          |  |
| <i>Troy</i>   |     |         |        |            |          |  |
| 3.5           | 2   | Ratis=1 | Māṣaka |            |          |  |
| 56.0          | 32  | „ =16   | „ =1   | Dharaṇa or |          |  |
|               |     |         |        | Purāṇa     |          |  |
| 560.0         | 320 | „ =160  | „ =10  | „ =1       | Śatamāna |  |

*Gold*

|        |      |         |       |         |                 |  |
|--------|------|---------|-------|---------|-----------------|--|
| 8.75   | 5    | Ratis=1 | Māṣa  |         |                 |  |
| 140.0  | 80   | „ =16   | „ =1  | Suvarṇa |                 |  |
| 560.0  | 320  | „ =64   | „ =4  | „ =1    | Pala or Niṣka   |  |
| 5600.0 | 3200 | „ =640  | „ =40 | „ =10   | Palas or Niṣkas |  |
|        |      |         |       |         | = 1 Dharaṇa     |  |

*Copper*

|       |    |         |           |  |  |  |
|-------|----|---------|-----------|--|--|--|
| 140.0 | 80 | Ratis=1 | Kārṣāpaṇa |  |  |  |
|-------|----|---------|-----------|--|--|--|

Table No. 2

|               |      |   |           |           |                   |  |
|---------------|------|---|-----------|-----------|-------------------|--|
| <i>Grains</i> |      |   |           |           |                   |  |
| <i>Troy</i>   |      |   |           |           |                   |  |
| .00135        |      |   | Trasareṇu |           |                   |  |
| .01080        | 8    | „ | =1        | Likhyā or |                   |  |
|               |      |   |           | Likṣyā    |                   |  |
| .3240         | 24   | „ | =3        | „ =1      | Rājasarṣapa       |  |
| .0972         | 72   | „ | =9        | „ =3      | „                 |  |
|               |      |   |           |           | =1 Gaurasarṣapa   |  |
| .5833         | 432  | „ | =54       | „ =18     | Rājasarṣapas      |  |
|               |      |   |           |           | =6 Gaurasarṣapas  |  |
|               |      |   |           |           | =1 Yava           |  |
| 1.75          | 1296 | „ | =162      | „ =54     | Rājasarṣapas      |  |
|               |      |   |           |           | =18 Gaurasarṣapas |  |
|               |      |   |           |           | =3 Yavas=1 Kṛṣ-   |  |
|               |      |   |           |           | ṇala or Rati      |  |

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13. *Trade and Industry in Ancient India* edited by Prof. D. C. Sircar (in the press).
14. *Early History and Culture of the Jains* edited by Prof. D. C. Sircar (in the press).

*N.B.*—The above books are to be had of the Agents of the University of Calcutta.

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### N.B. Our system of transliteration —

अ=ā, ई=ī, ऊ=ū, ए=e (long), ऐ (short), ओ=o (long),  
 ॐ= (short), ऋ=ṛ, ॠ=ṝ, ऌ=ḷ, ॡ=ḹ, ए=ṇ, ऌ=ḷ, ए=ḷ, ए=ḷ,  
 ऋ=ṛ, ॠ=ṝ, cerebral voiced fricative=ḥ, anusvāra=ṁ, candra-  
 bindu (ānunāsika)=ṁ, visarga=ḥ. Samāsa is indicated by  
 hyphen and sandhi by the sign of equals ; e. g. vāg-arthāv=iva.

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### *Our Publications*

1. D. R. Bhandarkar's *Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population* edited by Prof. D. C. Sircar, 1968, pp. 81. Price Rs. 10.00.
2. E. W. Hopkins' *Social Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India : The Status of Woman* edited by Prof. D. C. Sircar, 1969, pp. 89. Price Rs. 10.00.
3. *Prācyavidyā-taraṅgiṇī* edited by Prof. D. C. Sircar, 1969, pp. 540 with 49 plates. Price Rs. 60.00.
4. *Some Problems of Kuṣāṇa and Rājput History* by Prof. D.C. Sircar, 1969, pp. 120. Price Rs. 20.00.
5. G. Bühler's *Indian Inscriptions and the Antiquity of Indian Artificial Poetry* edited by Prof. D.C. Sircar, 1970, pp. 103. Price Rs. 12.00.
6. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy's *Origin of the Buddha Image* edited by Prof D. C. Sircar, 1970, pp. 71 with 12 plates. Price Rs. 20.00.
- 7-8. D. R. Bhandarkar's *Ancient Indian Numismatics* edited by Prof. D. C. Sircar, Part I. (1971)—Price Rs. 12.00 ; Part II (1972)—Price Rs. 10.00.
- 9-13. *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol. I (1967-68), 1968, pp. 346 with 6 plates ; Vol. II (1968-69), 1969, pp. 433 with 7 plates ; Vol. III (1969-70), 1970, pp. 450, with 14 plates ; Vol. IV (1970-71), pp. 494 with 12 plates ; Vol. V (1971-72), pp. 505 with 12 plates. Price Rs. 30.00 per volume.

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